Swords into Plowshares *The Editors*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

April 25, 1964, 35 cents

UNIVERSITY OF VE
APR
LIBRARY

White Elephant Sale

Murray Kempton

Death on the Atchafalaya

James Ridgeway

An Archaeological Buff

Bernard Knox

Walter Lippmann—1964

Eric Sevareid Interview

12-64 K26744 AR11-13-1
UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
LIBRARY
BURLINGTON VT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. *from Washington*

World's Fair

★ We had a dry run up to the World's Fair last week where, so far as we are concerned, Millie the Millepede stole the show. She is on for about 30 seconds in the Johnson Floor Wax pavilion (of all places!) in the course of the best 12-minute documentary, "To Be Alive," we ever saw. If you are one of the 100 million people going to see the Fair, we'd say it's a "must."

Carpenters were hammering, workers were slapping on tar, the Fair lights weren't up and the dry reflecting pools had coke bottles in them. But we managed to get into half a dozen exhibits and got the feel of the place.

It was right here, on Flushing Meadows in 1939 at the last Fair, that we saw our first TV picture. Goodness, only 25 years ago; see what's happened since! This time we saw AT&T's experimental telephone-TV circuit, and we suppose dozens of other gimmicks will be dated back to 1964 by historians.

The most lasting effect of Fairs, we guess, is on architecture. This one marks the coming of age of curved concrete; engineers have finally got the stuff so they can bend it into pretzels, and all the buildings are saucer-shaped and perched on insecure-looking pads just ready to float off. (All, that is, save the Mormon Tabernacle replica, with the Angel Moroni blowing his gold trumpet on a spire of General Grant Gothic.)

To get back to Millie, she is blown up to 47 feet, I think, and it takes three screens and three projectors (operating simultaneously) to catch her as she flows serenely along on waves of motion that travel through her thousand legs. She is ridiculously complacent as she performs this stunt, and her segmented, cylindrical body, thus magnified, looks like a London Underground train running on tank treads. Millie herself looks like Queen Victoria.

If this sounds a bit incoherent, consider the circumstances. Millie has nothing to do with Johnson Floor Wax; in fact Millie, so far as I could see, has nothing to do with Francis Thompson's admirable documentary, built on the theme of brotherhood. Millie is just an added starter inserted, perhaps, because she looks so happy. After all, if Millie can operate all those legs what problem has the UN? Well, out of simple goodness of heart the wax people have built a pavilion with a 500-seat theater, commissioned the documentary, offered it free and omitted all advertising. Result? You come away with a warm glowing feeling for Johnson Floor Wax.

Landscapers were planting things frantically all over the Fair. When we came out of one pavilion a privet hedge was growing that wasn't there when we entered. We don't mind this, but we do object to them carting around 50-foot trees. A tree is our symbol for stability and it worries us to see them pop up.

The worst example of unfairness to trees we have seen was last summer, in California. The giant sequoia was 20 or 30 stories tall and had been alive at the time of Christ; maybe a thousand years before that. At some time fire had hollowed out its huge interior, but it was still alive, a magnificent and noble link with the past. So what had been done to it? Its hollow interior was a trinket shop where they sold dolls and postcards! A nation that will permit sacrilege like that doesn't deserve to be saved.

Well, to get back to Washington, the Senate's stately minuet with the civil rights bill continues and there may be some voting on amendments soon. We have a strong feeling that the country still thinks there is plenty of time to argue and does not really sense the situation. One repeatedly hears impatience at Negroes who keep up demonstrations. The assumption is that if we are nice enough to consider change, the least the Negroes can do is to hold up their revolution.

We think this misreads the whole relationship. This revolution isn't going to stop; it isn't going to wait; it isn't even going to subside much. We guess, if the civil rights bill is passed, it will be immediately tested by militants throughout the South. The Senate has been arguing the thing now for a month. We think the fuse is burning very close to the dynamite.

Bomb-Crazy

★ When we came out of a Van Gogh exhibition the other day all the trees looked like Van Gogh trees; and when we came out from seeing the movie *Dr. Strangelove* all the Generals and Admirals at the Pentagon looked like mad scientists. Here is Air Force Chief of Staff General Curtis LeMay scaring us about the Russians and backing Senator Goldwater's drive for manned bombers. He favors the crazy 100-megaton bomb as a terror weapon, which sounds like the movie.

Defense Secretary McNamara publicly contradicts LeMay, and we suspect the latter may be on his way out. We have four times the ICBM's Moscow has, says the Secretary. It's nice to have McNamara at the Pentagon, and to have the feeling that for almost the first time since it was built a civilian really is in control over there, though he can't stop the questionable Washington tradition of letting military men cry their eyes out with Congress.

This is the time of year when politicians go out hunting for racial minorities and sensitive ethnic groups. To pursue the search, the Republicans have created the "GOP Nationalities Reporter," by bulk mail from the GOP National Committee's "Nationalities Division" here. The message is simple. Democrats, it appears, are soft on Communism.

For Czechs there is the story of how Otto Otepka, "son of Czech immigrants," was fired by Secretary Rusk. The heading: "US Department of State Removes Anti-Communist." (He passed secret information to friends in Congress.) Another story: "USIA Deposes Anti-Communist" (Russian General Barmine, this time). Another: "Democrat Soft Line on Communism"; another – "American Communist Party Urged to Vote Democratic" (alleged statement from Gus Hall).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 150 Number 17 Issue 2579 April 25, 1964*
Published weekly (except July and August when it is biweekly) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 36, D. C. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 35c. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $6.50. Advertising rates upon request. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Include old and new address. Copyright© 1964 by Harrison-Blaine, Inc. Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.

CONTENTS

THE WEEK – Swords into Plowshares; Fifth Circuit Vacancy; Railway Bargaining; Puritan Sweepstake; Winthrop Rockefeller Against Orval Faubus; MacArthur Interviews 3

Notes on the Revolution – *William Bradford Huie, Jerry De Muth, William Peeples* 8
White Elephant Sale – *Murray Kempton* 11
Death on the Atchafalaya – *James Ridgeway* 13
Walter Lippmann – *as interviewed by Eric Sevareid* 15

BOOKS – *Reviews by Bernard Knox, Raymond D. Senter* 19
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 24
Films *by Stanley Kauffmann* 25
Magazines *by Christopher Jencks* 26
Correspondence 28

THE STAFF

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – Alex Campbell
Editors – Robert Evett, Murray Kempton
Associate Editor – James Ridgeway
Assistant to the Editors – F. R. Ruskin
Copy Editor – Lucille Davis

Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Asher Brynes, Helen Fuller, Frank Getlein, B. H. Haggin, Morton H. Halperin, Irving Howe, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Kauffmann, Charles Burton Marshall, Helen Hill Miller

Publisher – Robert B. Luce
Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman
Business Manager – Glenon Matthiesen
New York Advertising Representative – Roland Gomez, Murray Hill Advertising Inc., 64 East 34th St., New York, N.Y. 10016

Swords into Plowshares

The Pentagon last week assumed a second defensive function. As well as protecting us all from Communist aggression, it felt impelled to protect itself against Senator Goldwater and General LeMay. The Senator, who is a reserve general in the Air Force, says US missiles are unreliable or undependable and that more attention should be paid to manned aircraft. General LeMay, Air Force Chief of Staff, also wants new, and more bombers, as well as a jumbo-size nuclear bomb with the explosive power of 100 million tons of trinitrotoluene. For political reasons, if for no other, Mr. McNamara replied by spelling out, once again, that the US strategic nuclear force is very much larger than Russia's, and added that this magnitude of superiority "has been increasing and we intend that it shall continue to increase."

Though the Goldwater-LeMay attack could not go unchallenged, the Pentagon response was regrettable. For all practical purposes the Secretary of Defense is calling the Air Force Chief of Staff a liar, since General LeMay alleges that in strategic nuclear weapons Russia has narrowed the American margin of advantage. The reassertion of US superiority also thrusts a powerful additional nuclear argument into Soviet military hands. Even if he is carefree of Goldwaters, Khrushchev has his LeMays: professional soldiers who look with deep distrust on a failure to keep the arms race going full tilt.

Finally, the Pentagon's rebuttal is regrettable in that its statement of intent is misleading. For McNamara means not only to hold the line on further increases in the defense budget, but to make cuts wherever possible. His requests for the next fiscal year are lower than this year's, in part because of a more efficient allocation of defense dollars, but also because of Mr. McNamara's sensible conviction that it is pointless to have more than a certain size and number of strategic nuclear weapons; and that is the ground on which to engage LeMay and Goldwater. It is a fairly safe bet that over the next few years US defense expenditures will and can with safety shrink by about $4 billion. Since this spending rose by $17 billion in the past three years, such a cutback would be nothing sensational. It would, however, present a problem, though not the one that Goldwater and LeMay are trying to pose. The extra $17 billion spent on defense in three years, on top of many more billions spent since the beginning of the fifties, have distorted the economy to the point where it may be very awkward to make even minor adjustments without rocking the country. Important segments of industry may have got so used to their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

annual diet of $50 billion of defense orders that their appetite is as out of control as an addict's for narcotics. *That* is the possibility to which we all ought to be addressing ourselves.

Defense spending now accounts for about 10 percent of the national product and for about nine percent of all jobs. It is concentrated in a few states or regions, and a few major industries. In some large cities, a high ratio of plant jobs is in missiles and aircraft: San Diego, 82 percent; Wichita, 72 percent; Seattle, 53 percent; Los Angeles, 27 percent. Ten percent of the output of the oil industry goes to defense. In four industries, defense work accounts for between 50 and 100 percent of output: ordnance, aerospace, shipbuilding and electronics. So much is known; but there are vast areas of ignorance. For instance, there are firms that do research or build computers or supply fuel and power for firms that have defense contracts. What would be the effects on them of a cutback in defense spending, and how far through the US economy would the effects spread and at what speed? An inter-agency committee headed by Gardner Ackley of the President's Council of Economic Advisers has been appointed to study such impacts, and there is talk of an early warning system for firms most likely to lose orders.

We are sure of one thing; conversion won't be automatic or painless; the record is poor among businesses that have tried to diversify, decreasing their dependence on defense work. A sharp drop in defense orders could make many engineers in San Diego as unemployable as if they were in Appalachia, unless they were prepared to accept lower wages, or unless a rapid expansion occurred in other industries that could use them. Over half of all American scientists and engineers are working today on military research and development, which helps explain Senator Hart's proposal to set up a commission representing industry and the government to work out plans for using defense technologies to supply civilian needs. Government properties may have to be leased on special terms, and there may have to be tax credits for civilian research and development. The giant organizational structures that characterize the defense industry are no more likely to fit neatly into a civilian pattern than a tank into a suburbanite's garage. Yet just to dismantle them risks adding substantially to an already high level of unemployment. That's why federal support will be needed to adapt the giant tools the Pentagon – and American ingenuity – have created, to such projects as modern mass transit systems, new forms of land, sea and air transport, salt water conversion systems, air and water pollution control, and other similar projects that are too massive or too bold for private exploration alone. The Administration is wise to start thinking about conversion now and not leave it too late.

Fifth Circuit Vacancy

President Johnson has an appointment to make this spring or summer which will affect the course of the civil rights struggle in the South as much and as permanently as many of the provisions of the bill now being debated in the Senate. The appointment in question is to a vacancy on the US Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, created by the death of Judge Ben F. Cameron. This is by all odds the most important court – barring none, including the Supreme Court – in civil rights litigation. Its jurisdiction embraces all of the lower South save South Carolina. In the administration of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, only the President himself will have more opportunity and power to decide whether that statute is to be an effective tool as well as a ringing declaration. The country already owes an inestimable debt to such upright and courageous judges of this court as Tuttle of Georgia, Rives of Alabama, Wisdom of Louisiana and Brown of Texas. Even greater demands are soon to be made of them.

The late Judge Cameron, a Mississippian appointed by Mr. Eisenhower (as were also some of the most forward-looking judges in the Circuit) was very probably – one or two others compete for the honor – the most unreconstructed segregationist on the federal bench. He denounced as a novel outrage the Attorney General's plain performance of duty in sending government lawyers down from Washington to try voting cases under the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960, which were to Judge Cameron's mind little better than the harbingers of Fascism, if not of atheistic Communism. And he tried singlehandedly, and for some little time successfully, skirting very near to outright abuse of judicial power, to keep James Meredith out of the University of Mississippi.

Judge Cameron did not do as much harm as he might because there was a majority of judges on his court who saw their duty otherwise. President Kennedy, in an unfortunate concession to the Southern leadership in the Senate, weakened that majority with the appointment of two judges who, while they did not travel to Cameron's hinterland, took up positions somewhere in the vast area between Cameron and Tuttle, Rives *et al.* Now President Johnson has his first opportunity to shape the future of this most important of Circuit Courts. Perhaps the most costly kind of compromise that could be struck with the Southern Senators, more costly than many an amendment to this or that section of the civil rights bill, would be for the Southerners to let an effective statute go through in exchange for a Presidential promise to go slow and easy in administering it. The appointment of a Cameron, or of any Southern lawyer with a segregationist record, should be understood as the first step toward such an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

overpriced compromise as that would assuredly be.

It will be said that no lawyer of standing without a segregationist commitment in some degree can be found in Mississippi, that nobody but such a lawyer with such commitments would be acceptable to the Southern Senators, and that they will block confirmation of anyone else. The answer is that Presidents Eisenhower and Truman were able to find men of a different sort in the Fifth Circuit; that there is no law that says that the vacancy must be filled from Mississippi; that if there is to be a fight over confirmation, let there be, for it is worth it; and that a vacancy is much preferable to a bad appointment. The Chief Justice has power – frequently exercised – to assign judges from all over the country to sit temporarily in a busy Circuit like the Fifth where a vacancy exists.

Railway Bargaining

Railway management-labor negotiations have worked their way from the Labor Department to the President's office to the Rose Garden to the Cabinet Room. Recourse to the United Nations after a five-year cooling-off period should perhaps be considered.

The central fact in the railway dispute is that the President of the United States has no legal power to prevent a strike, and even his exceptional healing talent may be of no avail. The same is true with respect to other industries and services of equal importance to the nation. Meanwhile, automation hones the fears of men for their jobs and management's aversion to featherbedding.

Last August, Congress in effect recognized that there is such a thing as a national emergency strike, and for the first time voted a compulsory arbitration law. Congress knew then that it had not gone far enough. It required arbitration for only two "major" rail issues: firemen on Diesel freight engines, and the make-up of crews. It left to "collective bargaining" the "minor" issues, including changes in pay structure, lengthening some runs, assignment of road crews to yard work, and guarantees of work and wages for regulars. The arbitration verdicts in November went against the operating unions, who went to court. When the right to strike was reinstated in February, the unions held that threat over the companies, and the companies held the work rules – the minor issues – over the unions. Serious bargaining was impossible. Management could not conscientiously go on wasting money, but union leaders might as well resign as go back and tell their members, "You're laid off." There were two strike calls, fended off by injunctions. The Illinois Central strike became the shutdown. The theory that cautious, limited, selective arbitration of "major issues" would ease collective-bargaining on minor issues proved wrong. By the second week of April, the nation had not moved an inch since August.

Those who were deeply involved in last August's legislative moment of half-truth acknowledge privately that the President must have more power to act when it is clear that the national interest is at stake, and where the parties have exhausted themselves and a strike impends. They believe he ought to be given the power to say: state the issues, which would then be presented to an impartial board whose decision would be binding.

Puritan Sweepstake

The New Hampshire Sweepstake is the first American lottery of the 20th Century. In a referendum attached to the recent primary, New Hampshire gave the scheme more affirmative votes than it gave to Lodge, Goldwater and Rockefeller combined, and tickets are now on sale throughout the state.

New Hampshire has a Puritan tradition going back to 1637, when the Rev. John Wheelwright arrived from Massachusetts Bay Colony. But the state is Puritan only now and then. Thus, Rockefeller's second marriage proved to be an insurmountable obstacle despite the fact that New Hampshire does a brisk business supplying quick and easy second marriages to Massachusetts residents. The same paradox lies behind the state's remarkable array of "sin taxes." Let no one think that the legislators are trying to eliminate sin. On the contrary, their levies are designed to keep the cost low and the turnover high, thus shifting the burden of New Hampshire government to non-resident shoulders.

Two-thirds of the state's revenue comes from taxes on cigarettes, beer, liquor and pari-mutuel betting, with tourists accounting for at least half the take. Unfortunately, these taxes are not very flexible. When the towns demanded more aid for education – the existing program is the most miserly in the United States – the only solution was to provide a new sin for the neighbors to enjoy and for New Hampshire to tax.

The New Hampshire Sweepstake is not a sweepstake at all, but a lottery with a horse race added. This year's drawing will be held at the end of August. For each million dollars of revenue, a ticket will be matched with each horse entered in the race, scheduled for September 12 at Rockingham Race Track. (Given 400 entries and $9 million in sales, 3,600 tickets will be drawn.) The horses will determine which of the lucky ticket-holders are to become very, very lucky. The big-money winners will receive $100,000 apiece, with smaller prizes ranging down to $500 or so for individuals holding tickets on horses which were entered but did not race.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After deducting its overhead, the state will dispense the profit to the schools in what will surely be the most unusual educational subsidy of recent times.

The astonishing thing about this operation is the fact that lotteries are illegal in the United States. Tickets and prizes cannot be mailed. Radio and television stations cannot broadcast the names of winners. Mere possession of a lottery ticket is against the law in most states, and it cannot be carried in interstate commerce. No exceptions are made for state-operated lotteries.

Yet New Hampshire intends to sell its tickets to all comers. On March 12, the day lottery tickets went on sale, the third man in line (after the Governor and the state legislator who fathered the plan) was a Massachusetts resident who bought 64 tickets, most of them intended for his family and friends. Nobody arrested him on the way home, either. The Sweepstakes Commission surrenders only a "confirmation of purchase," with the ticket itself remaining in the vending machine. The payoff will be equally sly. The commission will turn the prize money over to a bank, which will credit the winner's account in his home town – money is money, after all, and federal agents will be hard put to determine the moment a prize is actually crossing the state line. Only a 20th Century Puritan could have devised a system so irreproachable in form, and so dubious in intent.

Some difficulty may yet arise from the Sweepstakes Commission's trick with labels. Maine has agreed to go along with New Hampshire's definition of a ticket, and Massachusetts will probably do the same, but on March 26, Rhode Island authorities arrested a man who had 38 of these "confirmations" in his possession, each made out to a different person. Rhode Island means to prosecute under its own anti-lottery statutes, and the defendant means to ask New Hampshire to provide him with an attorney.

There is also a question about how much money the lottery will yield. Anti-lottery forces are rather listlessly hoping the venture will fail, and that low revenues will give them an argument for repeal, but there is almost no chance their hopes will be realized. If revenue estimates are wrong in any direction, the error probably inclines toward the conservative side – another Puritan trait. Sales were running close to $10,000 a day in the lottery's first week of operation. It may net only $3 million in 1964, but it should double or treble that figure in the years to come. These are substantial revenues in New Hampshire.

The only other hazard in sight for the Sweepstakes Commission is that the neighbors might adopt lotteries of their own.

DANIEL F. FORD

MR. FORD *is an editor in the publications office of the University of New Hampshire.*

Winthrop Rockefeller Against Orval Faubus

Winthrop Rockefeller, who this month announced his candidacy for the governorship of Arkansas, will drive in on Orval Eugene Faubus from the left, even though Rockefeller's grandfather invented trusts and Faubus' father voted for Eugene V. Debs. What Rockefeller stands for is paternal capitalism. Governor Faubus is that indispensable figure of Southern politics, the backwoods liberal who got in by promising better schools and fatter welfare checks, and has stayed in by striking alliances with the gas company, the power company, the Farm Bureau and the bankers – and by one long and strategically placed cry of "nigger."

Now tailing out his fifth two-year term, Faubus has been Governor longer than any predecessor. Lacking opposition (the Republicans last elected a major state officeholder in 1873, and failed to carry Arkansas for either Herbert Hoover or Dwight Eisenhower), Faubus has accreted immense power, and has been wise enough to use it with restraint.

Rockefeller came to Arkansas in 1953, after he and his wife Bobo split up. He was suspected of seeking nothing beyond a 90-day divorce, but bought a chunk of a hilltop and built himself a ranch. He had heard about Arkansas from an Army sidekick, Frank Newell of Little Rock. He feels at home on the land, and likes to rusticate around his showplace spread on Petit Jean Mountain in clothes which cause him to be mistaken for one of the hands by a few of the 200,000 visitors who come to admire the place every year. But he also owns three airplanes, including a $900,000 jet, and goes hopping about the Hemisphere on business, philanthropy and pleasure.

His prospects against Faubus in November (assuming Faubus files for a sixth term and wins the Democratic primary) are generally thought to be limited. Faubus has the organization, the Democratic label, control of the courthouse rings who supervise the vote count, and of most of the state's big money that is not in one or another of Rockefeller's bank accounts. As if all this weren't trouble enough, Rockefeller has insurrection among his Republicans – from Goldwaterites, who prefer Faubus to Rockefeller on ideological and strategic grounds – and a personal political staff inconspicuous for either its experience or its mental powers. Nelson uses people smarter than himself; Winthrop won't trust people he can't outthink. Finally, Winthrop has a long and decent record in race relations which will cost him dear in the eastern part of the state.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If Faubus has comparable troubles, they are less easily fingered. Last time he won 51.5 percent of the vote in the first Democratic primary, against a field of five challengers. There is evidence since of disaffection – most notably in the state's press – but Faubus is like Joe Louis in Louis' declining years – both had cleaned up all the serious challengers and enveloped themselves in an aura of invincibility before they started to decay. Had Rockefeller become a Democratic convert instead of a Republican activist in 1960 (when he first got deeply involved in Arkansas politics), his prospects would be quite different, and much brighter. But he chose the harder road – in part, no doubt, out of deference to familial tradition, but also because a personal political triumph would be a small thing compared with the creation of a true second party in a state which (as Rockefeller repeatedly has said) can blame many of its misfortunes on one-party rule.

He is quite possibly the most conservative of the Rockefeller brothers. But circumstance has made him the spearhead of a liberation movement and has thus rendered him unique among the squalid primitivists who have tried to bring Republican victory in the South by beating country club and boardroom Democrats at racebaiting and at economic conservatism.

Patrick J. Owens

Mr. Owens *is associate editor of* The Arkansas Gazette *and, as a Nieman Fellow, received the Hillman Award and a distinguished reporting citation from the American Political Science Association.*

MacArthur Interviews

The two newspaper interviews given by General Douglas MacArthur in 1954, withheld for posthumous publication, have revived old controversies and also shed more light on the conduct of war in Korea. Whether the illumination is of the sort intended by the source is another question. The man himself and the link between his character and the events are mainly the matters clarified.

Time magazine, attempting praise, once attributed "absolute certitude" to the late General. As a compliment, the phrase failed, for the human situation is contingent. Such wisdom and grace as men may achieve is derived from a recognition of that fact; absolute certitude is for the gods and the presuming.

As a characterization, however, the phrase was apt – at least superficially. An indulgent and imperious mother had imbued MacArthur from boyhood with the ideas of being above man's common portion of fallibility. On rare occasions, however, Douglas MacArthur revealed to intimates his anxieties about fulfilling that role, his fears of being found inadequate in face of some critical test.

In his years as proconsul in Japan, he had even an Emperor as client. His immediate staff was composed of officers brought along in their careers by the Commander; the supremacy of his judgments was accepted as axiomatic; his headquarters became a court of sorts. To those serving there, and especially to the one in charge, it was the locus of military authority at its unquestionable best, the focus of destiny itself.

As Brigadier General Phillips pointed out in these pages last week, MacArthur's nemesis came with the Korean War. Overconfident in his own judgments, scornful of repeated anxious warnings from the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington, he permitted an aperture to develop and to persist between elements of his command on the move northward after the Inchon landing. The Chinese – no doubt amazed at the windfall – found the weak point, drove through and dealt an enormous defeat.

To MacArthur, expunging that reversal became the supreme goal. His unacknowledged superiors in Washington, including the Joint Chiefs of Staff, regarded the problems of the Korean theater in the perspectives of a global strategy. With reluctance, but in deference to prudence, they settled for a standoff there lest, in pursuit of absolute local victory, the resources necessary to deter a Communist attack on Europe should be diverted and an area of far greater intrinsic importance than North Korea be exposed to unacceptable risk.

That decision was not necessarily the best practicable; there was a debatable difference of opinion. A less presuming man, willing to argue in the perspectives of wider considerations rather than being obsessed with self-vindication, might have been able to present a clear case. Instead, MacArthur insisted on being accorded the prerogative to determine national policy, thus raising a constitutional issue.

On this point, the interviews are revealing. The MacArthur of absolute certitude comes through. Anyone, of whatever station, entertaining a view different from his is against what is right. Conscious advocacy of wrong is traitorous; unconscious advocacy is stupid. The hero is unique in loyalty and comprehension. Decisions not in keeping with his preference were in derogation of military authority – even though those decisions were shared in by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The effect is pitiable, like a scene from *King Lear*. In trying for vindication, the MacArthur interviews succeed mainly in demonstrating why it became so necessary to relieve him of his command.

Charles Burton Marshall

Mr. Marshall *was a member of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, 1950-1953.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Notes on the Revolution

A Southerner Goes North

Hartselle, Alabama

I live in the town where I was born, near Huntsville and the Marshall Space Flight Center. My Scottish family goes back eight generations in this area, which voted heavily against George C. Wallace for Governor of Alabama.

I went to Wisconsin for a magazine, to study the character and extent of Wallace's Wisconsin support. Wallace has only one claim to public attention: he denied the right of a qualified citizen of Alabama to attend the state university because that citizen was born a Negro.

I told people in Wisconsin that Wallace did not have the announced support of a single Southern Governor or Senator; that the Ku Klux Klan, encouraged by Wallace's racism and defiance of law, is mushrooming in Alabama; that Wallace, by entering the Wisconsin primary, was trying to escalate himself to where he can fasten a police state on Alabama.

Last year, in his first legislature, Wallace supported bills which would change the state constitution to allow him to succeed himself directly, would allow him to appoint the trustees of the University of Alabama, and would allow him to appoint all three members of the Board of Registrars (to control voter registration). He was beaten on those proposals but was allowed to create a Sovereignty Commission and a Commission to Keep the Peace. These two commissions can now spend public money investigating "enemies of the state." In his next legislature, strengthened by "great Northern victories," Wallace expects to get all that was denied him by his first legislature. If he can get the power to subpoena "any person who threatens the peace and dignity of the state," he can so harass his enemies that he can drive us out. So I urged the free people of Wisconsin to vote against Wallace and thereby help the people of Alabama to be free.

Television pictures of me making some of these points were shown in Alabama. When I arrived home, my parents could no longer answer their telephone because of obscene abuse. About 9:30 pm on a Sunday, a procession of eight cars approached my house and began circling it, the occupants shouting "nigger lover" and "we're gonna get you." This became a nightly occurrence.

My home is L-shaped, and there are three types of outside lights, including powerful floodlights. A guard was stationed at one end, in the garage, and I took a position at the other end, in my darkened office, both of us armed with 12-gauge, automatic shotguns loaded with buckshot. Both of us can kill two quail on a covey-rise.

My nightmare was not that anyone would damage my home or hurt my wife or parents, but that one or more of the encirclers would get hurt. I got the police to break up the nightly demonstrations, and through newspapers and the radio I tried to communicate with my neighbors who don't like me. I have tried to tell them that they are welcome to write me obscene letters and to shout at me from the street, but that after dark they must keep out of my yard and driveway.

While Wallace pursues his holy war to save the nation from "encroaching federal power," I'll modestly try to save Alabama from his encroaching power. I only hope we can fight it out without more people getting dynamited or shotgunned.

William Bradford Huie

Celebrity Boycott

Jackson, Mississippi

Last November 1, in Jackson, Mississippi, Nicholas Bosanquet, an English exchange student at Yale, and Robert E. Honeysucker, a Negro student at Tougaloo College, were standing together in line with tickets for a concert by the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra of London when police arrested them. They were accused of a breach of the peace for protesting, kept in jail overnight, but all charges were dropped on representations from the British Consul's office in New Orleans.

Two weeks later, *The Original Hootenanny USA* was to perform at the Jackson city auditorium. When the troupe arrived, their spokesman said they were "amazed" to find "there were some students who would not be able to see us." The singers canceled and said they "never would have signed to come here if we had known the auditorium was segregated." They not only forfeited a $2,500 guarantee but gave a free concert before an integrated audience at Tougaloo.

That was followed by cancellation of an appearance by the stars of the television show *Bonanza*, at the two-day Mississippi Commerce and Industry Exposition at the coliseum in Jackson, February 1 and 2. The three stars of Jackson's most popular television show were to give five performances, sponsored by local radio station WJQS, at the trade show depicting "100 years

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of progress in commerce and industry in Mississippi." One of the *Bonanza* stars, Dan Blocker, telegraphed that he had "long since been in sympathy with the Negro struggle for total citizenship, therefore I would find an appearance of any sort before a segregated house completely incompatible with my moral concepts – indeed, repugnant."

Two days later Jackson Mayor Allen Thompson went on TV to suggest a boycott of the television: "*Bonanza* will never come through the air into my house again," he cried, and asked: "Who buys these automobiles in Mississippi?" (*Bonanza* is sponsored by a car manufacturer.) "You know, the South is where cars will be sold in tremendous numbers."

Tom Ethridge, columnist for the Jackson *Clarion-Ledger*, strongly supported Thompson's appeal, citing as an example of the South's power, the discontinuance of *East Side, West Side*, "after 26 CBS Southern affiliates canceled the program." Ethridge said the show, produced by "alien-minded" David Susskind, "has dealt with integration, housing, social 'injustice' and other leftist propaganda themes."

On Saturday night, February 25, 4,000 whites crowded into the Jackson auditorium to hear a concert by trumpeter Al Hirt, a benefit show for the March of Dimes. Minutes before the curtain was to rise, the audience was told that Hirt had canceled.

Three days later James Webb, administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, was scheduled to speak before the Legislative Welcome Dinner sponsored by the Jackson Chamber of Commerce, the city of Jackson, and Hinds County officials. Webb canceled on the day of his speech, saying, "The issue has become whether I endorse segregation. I do not."

On February 24, Stan Musial was scheduled to appear at the Mississippi Hall of Fame dinner at Jackson. John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), asked Musial to cancel. "The Jackson Touchdown Club, sponsor of the Mississippi Hall of Fame, is an all-white body which restricts its membership to white persons," Lewis explained. Musial did cancel.

Mississippi was also denied seeing two other sports stars – Cassius Clay and Sonny Liston. The championship fight was not shown anywhere in Mississippi, though previous bouts had been shown in Jackson via closed circuit television.

A scheduled concert by pianist Gary Grafman at the municipal auditorium in Jackson on February 27 was called off. Columbia Artists tried to get other artists to pinch hit for Grafman. All refused. Finally it got David Bar Illan, an Israeli pianist, to agree to substitute. Then he too changed his mind.

Jerry De Muth

"Hunger Sit-In"

Louisville, Kentucky

Hosannas have greeted the way in which Kentucky, and Louisville in particular, have met the racial crisis. They have been held up as enlightened examples of what a state and a city with a Southern exposure can do in shaking off the shackles of discrimination.

The cheering is premature: Kentucky is not yet Beulah Land. Indeed, a case can be made that the fight for racial justice has lost ground here recently.

The desegregation of the schools has not been a serious issue in Kentucky, and the civil rights struggle long ago moved on to a different level. For at least three years now the primary objective has been the legal abolition of racial discrimination in businesses licensed to serve the public – or what has come to be known as public accommodations. Most of the gains in this field, largely in Louisville, have come in the wake of sit-in and stand-in demonstrations.

By 1963, it was obvious that persuasion had accomplished as much as it could and that official action was essential to complete the job. The city administration then enacted a strong ordinance forbidding racial discrimination in public accommodations. This brought Louisville reams of national publicity that left the general impression that the problem had been solved in the city. Meanwhile, Bert Combs, then the Governor, issued an executive order that, in effect, extended the principle of the Louisville ordinance to the entire state. The cause of Negro rights seemed triumphant. This, however, proved to be the grand illusion of 1963.

The Louisville ordinance has never been enforced, because it has been tied up in the courts. Its future is in doubt. The Governor's executive order was designed as a stopgap to serve until the legislature met and took up civil rights legislation; the executive order was challenged in the courts and has never been enforced either. Nevertheless, in the gubernatorial campaign last fall, the Republican candidate, Louie B. Nunn, damned the order as a "dictatorial" infringement on the rights of private property. On that note he conducted the first outright segregationist campaign in Kentucky in this century. Although he was a singularly unattractive candidate, and was conceded no chance of winning at the outset of the campaign, he came within 13,000 votes of the prize. This was the signal for politicians to run for cover.

During the campaign, Edward Breathitt, the successful Democratic candidate, promised to rescind the executive order, after the legislature had a chance to enact a public accommodations law.

On a raw, wet March day some 10,000 Kentuckians,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Negro and white, marched up Capital Avenue in Frankfort and assembled in front of the capitol. State civil rights leaders were joined by Martin Luther King and Jackie Robinson on the speakers' platform.

Despite his efforts, the Governor could not dislodge the bill from committee. Failing, he promptly rescinded the executive order of his predecessor.

The first impulse of civil rights leaders was to call for statewide sit-ins, concentrating on rural and small-town districts that had never been tested before. Then it was decided to try the "hunger" sit-in in the legislative galleries, to force the legislature to enact the public accommodations bill in an eleventh hour reversal, or to persuade the Governor to call a special session on civil rights.

For five days and nights the hunger-strikers maintained their fast in the House gallery. Nearly half of the 30 fasters were white. The group as a whole ranged in age from the teens to the 70's. One woman collapsed after the third day and was taken to the hospital. The others stuck it out until the legislature adjourned – without bringing the public accommodations bill from committee. At the end, the Governor promised to call a special session if he could get definite pledges from enough fence-straddling legislators in behalf of a public accommodations bill. He said he detected a shift in sentiment in favor of action on civil rights, promised to do everything he could through executive power, and told the hunger-strikers: "We shall overcome."

But when? Or, more to the point, how? The real question at this stage is whether the issue will be resolved in the legislative halls or in the streets.

From one point of view, Kentucky's rate of progress can be considered dramatic. Even five years ago, the idea of a public accommodations law in Kentucky would have been hooted down as fantastic. The trouble is that Kentuckians who suffer the daily humiliations of discrimination no longer measure progress with this kind of detachment. They are marching to a different drummer and have their own timetable, which happens to be the one that matters now.

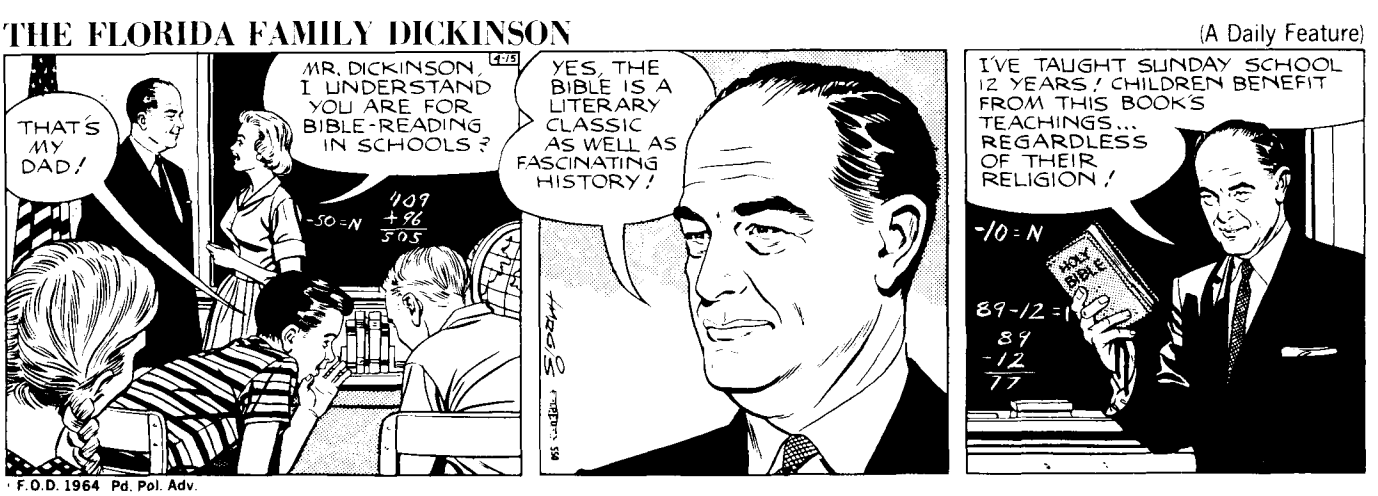
WILLIAM PEEPLES

Coming Up—Daddy Warbucks for President

In a $40,000 assault on voter intelligence, a Florida politician, State Senator Fred Dickinson, plans to win voters by daily comic strips until the May 4 Democratic primary for Governor. In the strips, he speaks out courageously against dear auto license plates, child-beating and price-fixing, and is firmly for mothers, parks, beaches, education and a "healthy, ambitious team of organized labor and management." The strips appear six times a week in all but one or two daily newspapers in Florida. If it does nothing else, the strip is slashing newspaper advertising costs: it's said that Dickinson would have spent not $40,000 but $150,000 on conventional political ads in the newspapers.

Dickinson's slogan is "One United Sunshine State"; in Florida, the Pork Chop gang, a team of old-time politicians from the upstate areas, collectively wield enough power to throttle populous Dade (Miami) and Broward (Fort Lauderdale) counties.

Dickinson's men take a sample poll every two weeks to see how he is doing. The last straw vote was clouded a bit, comic-strip wise, by the fact that one of Dickinson's opponents, Hayden Burns, Mayor of Jacksonville, embroiled his city in a race riot by his stand on civil rights. The Dickinson poll showed a 10-point drop by Burns, but nobody could separate the race riot from the comic strip with any degree of accuracy.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

White Elephant Sale

by Murray Kempton

The spring conference in Washington, D. C., of the Federation of Republican Women was our last chance to observe the amateurs in bloom before the professionals wither them next July. An observer could not help thinking of one of those European balls to which young ladies are bid to enjoy the illusion that they are entertaining and choosing a suitor in the spring, only to be told in the summer the name of the husband the family has arranged for them.

The dancers, in this case, were a little old for the parts. That did not keep them from being daughters so dutiful that Nelson Rockefeller, the least eligible of suitors, turned the fewest heads. That is a pity, for Mrs. Rockefeller, with her fine bones, the plain stuff of her blue jumper and her even plainer joy in her husband, would seem the daughter-in-law any of these ladies would elect. And she could thus, if they would permit her, be a lesson to Republican women in how much more complicated the Bathshebas – and by extension the Khrushchevs and the Castros – of this world are than simple doctrine teaches.

But most of them held up their guards not merely before their sympathy but before their curiosity as well. No more than a third of the 3,000 women in attendance risked their souls by going to the Rockefeller reception, naturally the most elaborate of the week and offering the inducement of *canapes* for the self-indulgent and free potholders for the domestic.

Mrs. Neal Turtellotte, the chairlady of the Governor's campaign committee, said afterward that matters had gone much better than she had expected. As a sign of improvement, she mentioned how many of the visitors had shaken Mrs. Rockefeller's hand and told her how differently they felt now than they had when they came into the room.

It is appalling to consider the condition of a candidacy whose supporters can be consoled by remarks this condescending from persons of substance in a party whose convention is barely three months away. Governor Rockefeller, as husband and as politician, remains an outsider from the heart of the Republican covenant.

Yet he grows bolder with each disaster. His speech would have been an affront worse than his person, if these ladies had cared to listen. He wondered aloud whether the Republicans are *worthy* to lead; he tried to remind them that the world outside this room thinks only of the *old* in the Grand Old Party; it was their duty, he said, to reject extremism and what he called "negatism." Just eight times in 25 minutes, there were patters generously to be interpreted as applause. The next morning, Barry Goldwater worked his 25 minutes and was broken upon by tumult 27 times.

It is the nature of these ladies to be disturbed when Rockefeller tells them that their party is in trouble and to be comforted when Goldwater tells them that their country is in trouble.

The Governor's agents farmed this rocky ground with a distaste more personal and an alienation more lonely than any bystander could possibly summon.

"I was talking about civil rights to a woman from Ohio," one New York Republican reported, "and she said to me, 'You're a lawyer. Tell me, don't white people have any rights?' Her husband is the vice president of a steel company, and she's worrying about her rights."

The most extreme solicitation had drawn only eight Negro women to this assemblage of 3,000 ladies; Mrs. Hobson Reynolds was their Negro speaker.

"No one can have freedom until everyone has freedom," Mrs. Hobson cried out. "It is not I; it is the Negroes who are speaking out and asking you to know the thing for which we plead." The handclaps were light; then Barry Goldwater came on and found the proper key:

"I am amazed. I don't see any demonstrations for freedom. All these young people – instead of worrying about bombs and *this, that or the other thing* – why aren't they carrying signs saying freedom."

And his audience opened its mouth and yawped its gratification. He had caught their spirit. These ladies are from the suburbs; their life is comfortable. They are together because they feel themselves the real America and anyone outside as alien. Their politics are an aspect of morality; and to them a proper moral issue is an unwed mother.

The symbol which comforted them most then was Mrs. George Romney, a grandmother with eyes of fairy blue and unsuspiciously auburn hair. This enchantress was the only speaker whose press biography included the details of her physical properties; and her spell was the more perfect, because she was not a candidate but the wife of a candidate and thus at one remove from impurities of faction.

"Mahatma Gandhi never owned anything but a loin cloth . . ." Mrs. Romney told them. "We can live with-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out gadgets, but we cannot live without our great repository of knowledge of a Creator. . . . Freedom is not licentiousness."

It is irrelevant that, even less than the rest of us, these ladies could not endure life with a husband in a loin cloth or a house without gadgets. What they came to refresh was their assurance of their own virtue; a delegate confessed afterward that she could only go to the ladies' room and cry awhile after Mrs. Romney was finished.

The next day, even with Goldwater between, the Republican women still talked most about Mrs. Romney. At one of the working sessions to discuss ways to bring their party closer to the people, Mrs. Lorraine Jarrett of Wisconsin showed off her contribution, a soft wool sweater with an elephant at the corner of the small of her back and an American flag over her bosom.

She had designed it herself, but was open to any variations in scheme or color her sisters might invent – except for one.

"You must always," she said "keep Old Glory over your heart."

She had come here a little discouraged, Mrs. Jarrett said, but now her heart was lifted.

"If we can just get out a pamphlet putting together parts of all the inspirational messages we've heard here – especially Mrs. Romney – we can win."

"Do you think," Mrs. Romney had asked them, "that the Communists would have invaded us in Cuba if we had put up a large banner saying: 'We believe in the Monroe Doctrine'?"

The Goldwater forces were the more conspicuous, since the Senator's agents retain their formidable skill at seizing their party's fronts for the women and the youth and any other property which is labeled "Power Station" but has not switch nor generator.

But Goldwater's built-in advantage aside, he and Rockefeller did less well with this audience than those shadow candidates who had the wit to send proxies. Former Governor John Davis Lodge was drafted to represent his brother Cabot and roused rather better than Goldwater and almost as well as Mrs. Romney.

John Lodge united his auditors by the cunning device of attacking Henry Cabot Lodge's foreign policy. His solitary reference to the brother in whose place he was standing came out: "We run with the hares in Laos and hunt with the hounds in South Vietnam." And then he was gone, having tarried to tell one lady that he was sure his brother would prefer Barry Goldwater to Nelson Rockefeller.

But Lodge, except at that moment of tactical splendor, remained, if less an alien than Rockefeller, an alien still. His suite at the Sheraton Park was an island of peace and grace, to which the weary could repair for a glass of sherry and talk with the gentle ladies from Belmont and Wellesley who represent his cause with the fine-bred indolence that he has always brought to it.

"There is some bitterness here," Mrs. Harriet Willenburg, Lodge's directress, said. "We were handing out leaflets before John Lodge spoke. One woman crumpled it up and said that he was the last man she'd ever vote for. And we had our poster defaced."

We look at these ladies and feel the class line which separates the rest of us from them, but there is also a class line which separates them from one another. There are Republicans out of J. P. Marquand, but at bottom it is the party of Theodore Dreiser. Of the thousand or so Goldwater ladies, no less than 250 were committed enough to put on the Goldwater costume, a cowgirl's uniform; no gentility is possible under such circumstances. These women looked like waitresses at some Saddle Inn in a commercial hotel, left behind by their husbands and with children to support.

To most of those present, politics is unclean and engagement vulgar. They had come great distances to array themselves for a national political campaign; yet the oddest and most characteristic aspect of their natures was how often one of them, when asked her choice for a candidate, would answer that it was not for her to choose, that the convention would decide and then she would go in unity to the wars. The note common to those answers lingered between reproach and faint affront that anyone could expect a member of the Federation of Republican Women to stoop to a political discussion.

It is a further point about the mass of them that they have not much more hope of victory than they have fear of hunger. They feel themselves an elect; but they are resigned to not being elected. They were greeted by a message from Elly Peterson, the executive of their federation.

"Those of us traveling around the country," Miss Peterson began, "have been both shocked and dismayed at the seeming total misunderstanding (or acceptance, which is worse) of what is going on in Washington." Desperate measures were needed, and Miss Peterson had provided them. She had designed and printed four "Dear Mabel" postcards to be offered for sale and then mailed to women who do not yet know "the REAL Lyndon Johnson."

But the point of these women is that they do know the real Lyndon Johnson, because most of them have lived their lives with men like the President, and they are as comfortable with him as they are uneasy with Rockefeller. Mr. Johnson may not be the ideal husband, but he is very much like the ordinary husband with whom these ladies have jogged on for so many years. And they are not, bless them, ladies of the sort open to the entertainment of lasting dissatisfaction with their husbands.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Death on the Atchafalaya

by James Ridgeway

Endrin is the most toxic of a group of pesticides called chlorinated hydrocarbons. Three drops of it in the Potomac River is said to be sufficient to kill the fish.

Since 1958 endrin has been widely used in the lower Mississippi River Valley, where it proved inexpensive and effective against cotton boll weevils, bollworms and sugar cane borers. In that year the Louisiana Wild Life and Fisheries Commission reported frequent instances of fish dying from exposure to endrin, either as the result of sloppy spraying of pesticides from planes or because of run-offs from the fields after rainstorms. During the following growing season the Commission said these fish kills reached alarming proportions. Complaints were received on an almost daily basis from different watershed areas in several sections of the state. In 1960 some 3.5 million fish died in more than 30 different kills in Louisiana. At that time the US Public Health Service reported in one of its publications that 27 separate reports blamed endrin. Each report called for more cautious use of the chemical. A plea was entered for statutory control, since voluntary controls had proved futile. But the agricultural interests successfully fought off such attempts.

Over the next two years a quarter of a million fish were killed annually. Some of these kills took place on the lower Mississippi itself, but many of them occurred around the Atchafalaya River basin, an area to the west of the Mississippi which is interlaced with bayous, lakes and swamps. In the early spring the Atchafalaya acts as a floodgate for the surging Mississippi. In the past the river basin has supported a fairly large commercial fishing business; it is also a beautiful wilderness.

Beginning last November, dead fish again began to appear in the Atchafalaya and up and down the Mississippi. Catfish, drum, buffalo and shad were found dead in the lower Mississippi. In December more than one million menhaden were killed in the brackish waters of the delta. Tugboat captains reported dead fish as far north as St. Louis.

In January, Harry McHugh, who lives along the lower Atchafalaya, wrote in the Franklin (La.) *Banner-Tribune*, "I can look out of my front door and see at least a few fish swimming crazily on the surface of the water – mostly shad and mullet. These will swim in such a fashion for a while, eventually losing their ability to swim, and then either drift on down with the tide toward the Gulf of Mexico or are washed up on the banks where they die."

Others remember flocks of ducks wheeling overhead. Suddenly one duck would wobble, then fall to the ground. Hundreds of dead ducks, mostly mergansers or scaup, have been found in the swamps. McHugh took a trip into the headwaters of bayous that feed into the river. The bodies of turtles floated on the waters. Tough 150-pound garfish and catfish weighing 70 pounds surfaced, too weak to move. Crabs lay along the banks. Thousands of cranes and robins lay dead. The pencil-size white eels fishermen used for bait were scooped up dead by the net full. Alligators, once plentiful, have disappeared. Otter died or left the swamps.

And McHugh noticed other mysterious changes in the environment. "There are no more cormorants to be seen in any of the Atchafalaya swamps. Before these fish started dying, there were just millions upon millions of them in the Atchafalaya basin. They would darken the sky when they were going back and forth from their feeding grounds and roosts." And the thousands of crows that once populated the area were gone.

Seven thousand fishermen once made their livelihood along the Atchafalaya basin. Many of them can neither read nor write. They live with their families on camp boats back in the swamps. Their catch is generally marketed around the lower Mississippi Valley area, but such things as turtle meat, crab and crawfish reach markets farther distant. Louisiana shrimp, of course, is widely marketed. At this time of the year an experienced fisherman usually will raise his nets to find $250 or more of fish. This year that catch is worth $4. Some of the fishermen have been scooping up dying fish and selling them to wholesalers.

The fishermen knew that when the planes sprayed "the stuff," as they called endrin, the fish died. But the scientists needed proof. And, if they were highly suspicious of endrin's more immediate effects on fish after run-offs from fields, they were mystified by the large kills occurring late in the year, well after the spraying had stopped. Scientists from the US Public Health Service investigated in late 1963. (Samples sent to its laboratories during the 1960 kills failed to show pesticides as the cause of death; and the Service seems to have been hesitant to plunge into Louisiana without an invitation from the state for fear the kills were not a truly "interstate" matter. On November 18, Louisiana

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

finally asked the Public Health Service for help.)

Two scientists went in and brought out samples. Advanced methods of analysis showed that the blood of dying Mississippi River catfish contained a lethal dose of endrin. Apparently the fish had stored the compound in the fat which was metabolized during the winter.

As a result, and at long last, the federal government has heaved itself into action. The Agriculture Department is in the midst of hearings to determine whether endrin, aldrin and dieldrin – two other chlorinated hydrocarbons also present in some of the dying fish – should be restricted in use or banned from the market. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has thrown a tight surveillance network along the Mississippi River, with teams of scientists scouring the shore for chemical plants that may have poured the pesticide into the water. A conference, the first step in enforcement, will take place May 5 in New Orleans. It will consider how to deal with endrin and also how to achieve a comprehensive pollution-control scheme for the bottom part of the Mississippi.

What Is Zero?

About endrin's effects on human health there seems to be only general confusion. The Food and Drug Administration, which sets tolerances on pesticides in foods shipped interstate, says that endrin is so toxic that not one bit of it is to be tolerated in food; but the US Public Health Service has said that levels of pesticides found in the Mississippi basin do not present immediate health problems.

Mr. James M. Quigley, Assistant Secretary of HEW, told Senator Ribicoff, who is investigating the fish kills, that if he were in New Orleans he would not care to eat a gulf shrimp cocktail. However, Dr. James M. Hundley, Assistant Surgeon General, said that the PHS feels that the health hazard along the Mississippi, involving both drinking water and seafood, is probably very small. *He* would not hesitate to eat the shrimp cocktail, though a diet of nothing but catfish would be "most inadvisable." Catfish is part of a subsistence diet to many who live along the Mississippi. At one point, Dr. Hundley was asked: "What [amount of endrin] would be lethal to human beings?" "I do not know the answer," he replied. "I don't know that an answer is available."

In his testimony before the Ribicoff subcommittee, George P. Larrick, Commissioner of the FDA, said recent samplings showed endrin present in oysters and shrimp – both canned and fresh – and in fish in the Louisiana bayous and Mississippi.

"... There must be an awful lot of fish going into interstate commerce that should be condemned and removed from the market," Ribicoff commented.

"I think that remains to be seen," Larrick said. "I don't want to just destroy the market ... for those products, and, bear in mind, we didn't find hardly anything in the shellfish. And I would prefer to wait until we have run a lot of samples. I hope we won't find massive contamination, and I don't think we will."

But, Ribicoff wanted to know, wasn't the tolerance set at zero for fish in interstate commerce?

Larrick: The law sets the tolerance at zero. ...

Ribicoff: But from your testimony there is indication some of this fish have more than zero tolerance.

Larrick: We haven't found any yet in interstate commerce. We are sampling interstate commerce.

Some moments before in his testimony Larrick had said it would be a "miracle" if canned fish with pesticides in them were not found in interstate commerce.

Dr. Clarence Cottam, former head of the Fish and Wildlife Service and a noted wildlife biologist, has warned that, in 10 years, "we're going to find human beings dying of this thing, unless we act with intelligence now." But while Cottam and others including Interior Secretary Stewart Udall want to ban endrin, the Department of Agriculture whose function it is to register pesticides seems dubious. Charles S. Murphy, Acting Secretary, said in a letter to *The New York Times*, that the department "does not conduct its regulatory functions on the basis of probabilities, iffy conjectures, likelihoods or presumptions" – all of which he said were present in the Mississippi fish kill matter.

The pesticide interests are fighting hard. Parke C. Brinkley, president of the National Agricultural Chemicals Association, a trade group, stated his support for endrin before the Agriculture hearings in sweeping terms: "... The great fight in the world today is between Godless Communism on the one hand and Christian Democracy on the other. Two of the biggest battles in this war are the battle against starvation and the battle against disease. No two things make people more ripe for Communism," he declared. "The most effective tool in the hands of the farmer and in the hands of the public health official as they fight these battles is pesticides."

"No reputable scientist has expressed the view that parts per billion of aldrin, dieldrin or endrin in our environment constitute a public health hazard," said Sumner Hatch McAllister of the Shell Chemical Company, one of the makers of endrin. "To continually belabor this point, before there is evidence to support the assertion, could induce a form of hypochondria in the American people."

Meanwhile, in the Atchafalaya River basin where men have watched ill omens come year after year, there has at last come a spring of death. And for next winter there is the expectation that the fish again will rise, thrash the surface and die.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WALTER LIPPMANN – 1964

As Interviewed by Eric Sevareid

Sevareid: A couple of years ago you said that we were achieving a superior position in terms of power in the world, *vis-à-vis* the Russians, and a year ago you felt that our alliance was coming somewhat unstuck. How do you feel about this general balance now?
Lippmann: I think that we're living in the aftermath of the threat of nuclear war between the Soviet Union and the United States. That threat has for the time being been dissipated as a result of the fact that the United States achieved superiority in nuclear weapons, but of course not omnipotence. In other words, we're in no danger of an attack by the Soviet Union; on the other hand, we're in no position to order the Soviet Union around. This stalemate . . . was demonstrated in the Cuban crisis and is, I think, enshrined in the test-ban treaty. The test-ban treaty is really, if you look at it from here as to Russia, an acceptance by Russia of our existing superiority, and an admission that while we are superior, they can live with it, [but] we can't use it as a threat to their existence.

Sevareid: What is the result of all this in world politics?
Lippmann: The result is that the military alliances and military arrangements – and I'm not talking only of NATO but of the alliances in Asia too, which were based on the fact that the world had only two powers [and] that they might go to war – are coming apart. You see, when you had the terribly dangerous confrontation of these two nuclear powers, everybody was so frightened that they crowded into one [corner] or the other. When that fear has been lifted, they tend to their own ambitions and troubles, and so on. And that's why the world is much more disorderly, but it is much less dangerous.

Sevareid: This depolarization of the world, so-called, what is it going to mean in other terms?
Lippmann: Europe is recovering, of course. It has recovered economically in Western Europe remarkably. In fact, it's entirely recovered, you might say. But Europe, as a whole, is still split down the middle, and the full recovery of Europe won't take place until Germany is reunified and Eastern Europe becomes part of a larger European community.

Sevareid: Is that happening in small ways?
Lippmann: Yes, there's a great deal of evidence to show that it is happening. For instance, the Western Germans are now entered into relations which are formal in everything but name with [an] increasing number of Eastern countries – Hungary and Poland, and so on. Trade and economic ties between Western Germany and Eastern Europe are growing very rapidly – more rapidly than any other; the old day of absolute division is over.

Sevareid: Mr. Khrushchev has just talked about a good dish of goulash as better than revolution. Does this mean in your mind a fundamental change in the Russian pattern of approaching the world?
Lippmann: Basically, yes. Marxism is a dying creed in Russia. No, Mr. Khrushchev wouldn't admit that, but it's a dying creed because it doesn't fit the kind of industrialized modern economy that the Soviets have begun to develop.

Sevareid: How serious a matter is China for us?
Lippmann: Not nearly so serious as Russia was five years ago, because she is not a nuclear power, and therefore she's not capable of the kind of thing that Russia was capable of.

Sevareid: You don't feel very concerned about what China is trying to do?
Lippmann: I feel very much concerned about her influence, but it can't be done by sheer nuclear force. She doesn't have it. I think China can be contained peaceably for another 10 or 15 years, and then she will be very much like the Soviet Union today.

Sevareid: You sound as though we have very little to worry about, then.
Lippmann: Well, if you want to have a great big worry to worry about, I can't think of it at the moment.

Sevareid: You're not worried about what may happen in Southeast Asia in terms of our interest?

ERIC SEVAREID'S *hour-long conversation on April 8 with Walter Lippmann, parts of which are printed here, was the fifth such interview over the CBS network.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lippmann: Yes, I think we have in Southeast Asia a very serious thing there for which it's hard to see any satisfactory solution.

Sevareid: President Kennedy said he did believe in the domino theory – that if one part of Southeast Asia falls, the rest will go. Do you believe in that?
Lippmann: I don't think it's all going to go like dominoes. If the worst happened in Vietnam, and I might say what I think is the worst that could happen to us – it would be the overthrow of the government by South Vietnamese who would then proceed to negotiate what would amount to a surrender to North Vietnam, and part of it would be ordering us to leave the country – [then] we would lose our influence in the whole of Southeast Asia, which includes the Southeast Asia peninsula and Indonesia. And loss of influence for a great power is a very serious thing.

Sevareid: Well, how do we explain to people why the United States is involved in that war? Ought we to be in it?
Lippmann: . . . I believe in the old-fashioned American strategic doctrine, which was never to get engaged in a land war on the mainland of Asia. Sea power, air power, yes, but never land. And I've heard it said by a very eminent American soldier that any American who committed American troops to a land war in Asia should have his head examined. That's the prejudice with which I approach this thing, and I would never have gotten in as deeply as we did get into Vietnam, but we're in, and you can't cry over spilt milk. The question is, how do you finish with it?

Sevareid: Is General de Gaulle and his proclamations about that helping us or harming us now?
Lippmann: It's very difficult to say. The proclamations don't make a great deal of difference to us. We had a government in Saigon which was corrupt and reactionary – the Diem government – and which we did our best to hope would disappear, which it did. That government was probably getting ready to negotiate some kind of an arrangement with North Vietnam. It certainly wasn't fighting the war very vigorously in South Vietnam.

Sevareid: Do you really feel it's possible to negotiate some neutral status for that country?
Lippmann: I think it may be too late. . . . But if anything is negotiated that does make a settlement there short of the actual military conquest of Indochina by the Chinese, it'll have to be done with China. And General de Gaulle, at least, has analyzed it correctly. Whether he can still pull it off, I don't know.

Sevareid: But if there were a neutrality agreement, it would be American power, not French, that would have to guarantee it.
Lippmann: Certainly, certainly, and de Gaulle would be the first, I think, to admit that. But it won't be done by American power, [by] people flying around in helicopters in South Vietnam. That's a necessary thing, I don't wish to be misunderstood. We have to try and stabilize a government before we can do anything else, but the great power that we have is economic, and [our] sea and air power. That's our power in Southeast Asia. Otherwise it's way beyond our reach.

Sevareid: Do you agree with [de Gaulle's] prophecies about Russia and her gradual move back into the Western world?
Lippmann: Yes, I think that's happening and the Russians are very conscious of it. In Eastern Europe where I was not long ago – Hungary and Poland – the interest in being Western is very extraordinary.

Sevareid: Would you say then that the Cold War, in relation to Russia if not China, is really over?
Lippmann: The Cold War in its dangerous and malignant phase which was when it had nuclear weapons as the ultimate thing – that's over. The rivalry of the political systems, the social systems, is not over, and probably won't be over for a generation.

Sevareid: What have been your own impressions of President Johnson's method of conducting his office?
Lippmann: My feeling about that is this: When President Kennedy was murdered, the situation abroad and at home was in a state of crisis. His own policies were blocked at home, and they were frustrated abroad, and the country was very deeply and bitterly divided about him. There was sectional feeling. There was class feeling. There was racial feeling. President Johnson is by nature a man who heals. And that's been his function – his mission – in his first four or five months.

Sevareid: Are you saying, in effect, that while Johnson may not have the fervent phalanx of admirers in the country that Kennedy had, he has fewer enemies?
Lippmann: Oh, very many fewer. And the country is far more united and at peace with itself, except over the issue of Negro rights, than it has been for a long time.

Sevareid: And you attribute that to the accession of a new President?
Lippmann: I attribute it to the accession of *this* new President. Not any man who succeeded Kennedy could have done it. But this man's genius in politics . . . has

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been finding the point at which a consensus is possible.

Sevareid: The President has done pretty well with the Congress. Perhaps better than Kennedy.
Lippmann: He's done extremely well. And he's done, I think, what President Kennedy could not have done had he lived.

Sevareid: . . . When you watch President Johnson at work, do you detect any particular weaknesses that may catch up with him?
Lippmann: Well, I suppose, yes. It comes out of his background and experience. He is so much the product of the Legislative Branch of the government that his Executive action is, and rightly most of the time, deeply attuned and extremely sensitive to what Congress wants. Now, you can't conduct foreign affairs wholly [by] that method. . . . I feel sure that the difficulty over Panama arose not over the words which were quarreled about but over the perhaps excessive fear that if a revised treaty is negotiated, as undoubtedly it will have to be sooner or later, it will be very difficult to pass it through the Senate. And I think President Johnson has done extremely well with this problem, except now and then one sees, I think, an excessive deference to the prejudices – what Senator Fulbright called the other day, the myths – which exist in the Senate.

Sevareid: Would it be a fair generalization at this point to say then that whether the policies are wiser or not, at least the machinery is better oiled and is working better?
Lippmann: The policies are the same. There's no difference in policies between the two Presidents. This should be known not as the Johnson Administration, but as the Kennedy-Johnson Administration. . . . Every important measure and every important policy continues from President Kennedy. And [Kennedy] would have [had] to do what Johnson is going to have to do before he gets through – revise some of those policies.

Sevareid: Are you one of those people who worry about the extreme pace of his personal activity, particularly in view of the fact that he has had one heart attack?
Lippmann: I'm going to leave that to his doctors and his wife.

Sevareid: Are you willing to make any prediction about who will be the Republican nominee?
Lippmann: Oh, I can't make a prediction. I think it lies between Nixon and Lodge, and conceivably Scranton. The man I think has the greatest promise as a public man in the coming years is Scranton, but Scranton is not known. He's not experienced at all, and if I were his campaign manager, I'd run him for Vice President and get him well-known, even though he was beaten.

Sevareid: How do you account for this Lodge phenomenon? After all he's sitting 10,000 miles away saying nothing, and yet he's winning primaries.
Lippmann: . . . First, nature abhors a vacuum. Absence makes the heart grow fonder.

Sevareid: Yes, but there's another old saying. "Out of sight, out of mind."
Lippmann: Yes, but he's not out of sight, what with modern means of communication. He's very visible. Then I think there's a genuine feeling that he is a moderate, he belongs to the wing of the party that has to be dominant if they're ever going to win. It's the Eisenhower wing, really.

Sevareid: What works against him?
Lippmann: The politicians who worked with him in 1960 don't think he made a good campaign and don't like him.

Sevareid: Well, what about Mr. Nixon? Is he deeply entrenched in the affections of his party, or is he rather shopworn by now?
Lippmann: Well, he's not entrenched in the affections of the party. His nomination would be the nomination of a caretaker for the party in a bad year. Nixon has – as a candidate – certain qualifications. He has a reputation for knowing a great deal about foreign affairs and his party will talk about foreign affairs a great deal. He is an infighter. They undoubtedly will have to try to do something to weaken President Johnson's personal standing in the country, and [Nixon's] more willing to do it than almost any candidate.

Sevareid: You think that Goldwater and Rockefeller have pretty well run their course?
Lippmann: I think they've run their course.

Sevareid: Mr. Lippmann, I think about a year ago you said that perhaps the Republicans ought to nominate Goldwater and put to a test finally this idea that has persisted in the party since Taft's time, at least, that if you nominated what they call a real Republican he could win. You'd bring a lot of voters out who don't come out normally. Have you changed your feeling about that?
Lippmann: Oh, yes. First of all, I wasn't really anxious to have Goldwater a candidate, but I thought as against John F. Kennedy it might have cleared the air very much. The real objection to nominating Goldwater is that it would wreck the Republican Party for maybe

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

two elections because it would put the party in the control of a far-out extremist wing which never can win in this country. There aren't the votes there. New Hampshire was a good measure of that. . . . With the death of Kennedy, and with the very fragile character of Goldwater's support once he was exposed in front of television and in public meetings, the unsuitability of his candidacy has become so evident that I don't think we need that test.

Sevareid: Is it a terribly important question just whom the Democrats nominate for Vice President?
Lippmann: . . . President Johnson's position there is unique in that he cannot be helped by anybody who is named as a possible candidate. . . . The President can win with anyone of those people, and he won't win more because he has one of them on the ticket than if he didn't have one of them. Now, there are choices among them as to who would make the best President, and that is the real consideration in this case. That's the point I'm trying to make; that for [Johnson] the only real consideration is who would be a good successor. . . . It lies between two men in my mind: Senator Humphrey and Secretary McNamara, and I think we'll have to wait a little longer to see how McNamara makes out in Vietnam, and how Humphrey makes out in civil rights before we need to come to any conclusion about it.

Sevareid: Mr. McNamara as a Vice Presidential candidate presents an interesting problem. He's a Republican, isn't he?
Lippmann: Well, I suppose he was a Republican, but of course that's the way the Kennedy Administration has been constructed; . . . it was an attempt on Kennedy's part to create something like a coalition government.

Sevareid: You don't think this party identification of McNamara's would present a real problem at a convention?
Lippmann: There'll be . . . Democratic politicians who may object, but I wouldn't think it would make any difference, if President Johnson decided that's the man he wanted.

Sevareid: Mr. Lippmann, you haven't mentioned among possible Vice Presidential candidates the Attorney General, Robert Kennedy. Do you think he's going to play a part in this?
Lippmann: He'll play a part, he's a political power in the Democratic Party, but I don't see any reason why he should be nominated for Vice President.

Sevareid: You make it sound as though President Johnson would be a very hard man to defeat next fall.
Lippmann: Well, I wouldn't like to have the job of trying to defeat him.

Sevareid: Do you think it might not be possible that the civil rights demonstrations in the streets of this country this spring and summer might really get out of hand and provoke a reaction among white people to the extent that President Johnson could really be hurt next November?
Lippmann: . . . Yes, it's conceivable that a long filibuster will produce race riots in which whites in the North as well as the South will join. Yes, it's possible.

Sevareid: Do you think of the filibuster as a legitimate form of check and balance against the will of the majority?
Lippmann: I've always defended the filibuster or opposed an easy cloture, not any cloture. I've always opposed it when the issue was one which would be far better dealt with if you could get the consent of the minority. . . . I don't want to override the South, for example, by a 51 percent majority. On the other hand, you get to a point, and I'm sure we've reached it in the problem of civil rights and the Negro protest, where holding it up indefinitely is intolerable. You can't have filibusters in time of war. You can't have a filibuster which denies this country the right to promote the internal peace of this country, which is what the civil rights bill is about. So I don't support this filibuster, and I think after they've had a good long talk about it – it shouldn't be hurried – I'd like to see a cloture passed if that is necessary. But I hope none will be necessary because the value of the filibuster is that in a crisis it could be a very great defense of liberty in this country.

Sevareid: Mr. Lippmann . . . a great country must have some great enterprise. What ought it to be? I presume it's here at home, is it not?
Lippmann: Yes, it is. You see, we've had to fight World War II; we've had to fight the Cold War; we've had to conduct the race of armaments; we've had to nullify Soviet nuclear power, and we've done that. We've succeeded. We're out from under a terrible threat, but all that has been frightfully costly. It's cost not only over half the federal budget, but it's cost the time and energy and emotional concern of our people for 20 years. The result is we've had to neglect the development of this vast country. And the result of that is seen in the condition of our schools, in the condition of our cities, in the backwardness of our transportation system, railroad transportation, and in a lot of other things. And now that the terrible danger is past we can turn our attention to our own affairs without neglecting our responsibilities elsewhere.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Archaeological Buff

by Bernard Knox

From the Silent Earth
by Joseph Alsop
(Harper and Row; $7.50)

The Greek Bronze Age, as Mr. Alsop himself disarmingly points out, is remote enough from his usual beat "so that it may be reasonably enquired why the devil I am writing about it." Part of the charm of this book is indeed the fascination of seeing that alert and skeptical face which is usually embedded in an oblong of decided opinions on the Middle East, Vietnam, Hong Kong and Washington, turned now toward the problems posed by Knossos, Pylos, Mycenae and Linear B. But the world of Aegean archaeology is in some ways not unlike that world of revolution, civil war, missile gaps and assassination (whether of body or character) in which Alsop is so imperturbably at home. The last thirty years of discovery and reassessment have presented us with a fluid situation in which revolutionary chronologies hold precarious beachheads against massive counter-attacks, scholars join and desert shifting alliances, and even Sir Arthur Evans, the god-king of Aegean archaeology, is accused of "Minoan imperialism" and, by the most aggressive of the revolutionaries, of faking his evidence. The tense atmosphere of this sector can best be gauged by considering the Palmer-Boardman controversy. Starting out to write a joint book on the date and find-places of the Knossos tablets, they ended by differing "not only on the conclusions to be drawn from the evidence but also on how it should be utilized"; and the Oxford Press finally agreed to publish the book as "two independent studies of the material, neither of which had been seen by the author of the other before it was in print." This extraordinary book has now been reviewed in what is surely a unique literary phenomenon: a mutual review, so to speak – "Boardman and Palmer on Palmer and Boardman," in which the aggressive Palmer (with such phrases as "strange blunder," "unaccountable statement," "evidence both bogus and ill-informed" and "Malicious!") and the more staid but equally deadly Boardman (with "special pleading," "misunderstanding of archaeological data," "incomplete citation of evidence," "shameless use of work-notes" and "sophistry") tear at each others' vitals. Alsop in his career as reporter has always proceeded to the point where the fire was hottest; his trip to Pylos is no exception.

The reporter who arrives in strange territory must rely to a large extent on local informants, and Alsop has chosen as his guide to the battlefield that most gentle-spoken but hard-headed of American archaeologists, Carl Blegen, the excavator of Troy and Pylos. One long section of the book is in fact a report of a guided tour round Pylos by its discoverer; here Alsop's skill as a writer produces a brilliant account not only of Pylos and Blegen's interpretation of the ruins but also of the man himself, his quiet enthusiasm, his penetrating common sense and his old-world courtesy. Alsop has chosen his informant well, and the archaeological facts are presented in what they rarely are given in the work of archaeologists, clear and coherent form.

When General de Gaulle, on his recent visit to Mexico, bent his rigid spine down to examine a Mayan inscription, a local reported who asked: "Is the general interested in archaeology?" was answered by Couve de Murville: "The General is interested in history." Alsop is interested in archaeology (he modestly calls himself "an archaeological buff") but like the general, history is what fascinates him. And the opening half of the book is prologue to an attempt to state and answer the historical questions posed by the objects dug out of the silent earth.

These problems turn mainly on the central question of the relationship between the Minoan civilization of Crete and the Mycenean civilization of the mainland. Schliemann, who discovered the treasures of Mycenae, had no doubt that what he had found was a Greek civilization; "I have looked upon the face of Agamemnon" he is supposed to have announced when he saw the gold mask. But Evans' later discovery on Crete of an even older civilization, its palaces eloquent of a higher level of refinement, its two scripts, Linear A and B, unlike anything previously known, altered the picture. Who the "Minoans" were is still a puzzle, but they were not likely, given the antiquity of their settlements,

THE NATION'S ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES

Information, stimulation, and good reading for anyone interested in finding out what some of our leading economists think about a variety of today's pressing economic problems — economic maturity, full employment, economic freedom, to name only a few. Editor: EDGAR O. EDWARDS. Contributors: KENNETH E. BOULDING, ARTHUR F. BURNS, LESTER V. CHANDLER, SEYMOUR E. HARRIS, SIMON KUZNETS, FRITZ MACHLUP, EDWARD S. MASON, JACOB VINER. *A volume in the Rice University Semicentennial Series.*
$4.95

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Interaction

Cultural...
Political...
Philosophical...

IN SEARCH OF WEALTH AND POWER
Yen Fu and the West

By Benjamin I. Schwartz. About 1900 the Chinese philosopher Yen Fu made a determined attempt, for the benefit of his country, to discover the reasons for the West's power and wealth. In his effort he translated into Chinese and commented upon the works of Huxley, Adam Smith, Mill and other Western thinkers. This present work revaluates Yen Fu and the impact of his work upon Chinese culture. *Belknap Press.* $5.95

EQUALITY IN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

By Sanford A. Lakoff. A remarkably lucid historical exploration of continuity and change in a fundamental theme in political philosophy—the idea of equality—from its emergence as a practical ideal of intellectual speculation to recent times. $5.95

AMERICA AND EUROPE IN THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF JOHN ADAMS

By Edward Handler. A new interpretation of Adams' attitude toward the democratic revolutions of Europe, showing that, though deeply interested in foreign revolutionary struggles, Adams misunderstood them and despaired of their success. Far from being an American Burke, Adams' style of thought was much closer to that of his principal antagonists, the French liberals. $5.25

THE FORTUNATE PILGRIMS
Americans in Italy, 1800-1860

By Paul R. Baker. A delightful chronicle of 19th century American visitors to Italy, their absorbing experiences and their unsophisticated and ingenuous reactions to Italian art, religiosity, society, and politics. Illustrated. $5.95

Ask your bookseller

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
79 Garden Street, Cambridge Massachusetts 02138

to be Greek. Evans, who devoted most of his life and personal fortune to the excavation of Knossos, was, quite understandably, the proponent of a "Knosso-centric" theory of Aegean prehistory; Mycenae and Tiryns were "the mainland branches of Minoan culture." There were of course some who disagreed, but Evans' view held the field for many years. It has been undermined by two discoveries: Blegen's excavation at Pylos which revealed hordes of tablets written in Linear B and the decipherment of those tablets by Michael Ventris. The Linear B texts are written in a very early form of Greek. The presence of Linear B tablets at Knossos therefore suggests (since these are official records) a period of Greek domination of the site, if not of all Crete.

Alsop goes all the way to the complete reversal of Evans' theory. As "Pylocentric" as Evans was "Knossocentric," he suggests, as "a possibility that deserves exploration and testing" that the Greeks conquered Knossos as early as the seventeenth century, that the period of the second palaces was marked by a "brilliant Greco-Minoan synthesis," that the Minos who organized the Cretan sea-empire was a Greek, that in the sixteenth century there was a fresh influx of Greeks into Crete and that in this period Linear B replaced the Linear A which the first Greek conquerors had continued to use.

This bold hypothesis enables him to propose explanations for some of the mysterious features of the archaeological record, for example, the "close similarity, amounting almost to identity, of the finest Bronze Age objects found on Crete and on the Greek mainland." It also forms the base of his explanation of the puzzling fact revealed by the decipherment of the Pylos tablets, that the Mycenean Greeks, who must have come down from the north as nomadic warrior tribes and who in Homer are as unruly a set of barons as ever plagued a king, were in fact organized in a bureaucratic state which regulated and recorded every detail of the economy. Alsop's explanation is that this centralized system was first encountered on Crete by the Greek conquerors, was adopted by them and continued during the period of the "Greco-Minoan synthesis" and then "fed back" on to the mainland where the kings of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pylos and Mycenae saw its advantages for the consolidation of their own wealth and power.

All this is hypothetical, but no more so than other attempts to explain the discoveries. Alsop's theories are distinguished by his brilliant use of historical analogy, particularly from Chinese history, but also occasionally from places nearer home. One of the most interesting parts of the book is his discussion of the two different types of conquest: the conquest of a less advanced by a more advanced society, and the conquest of a more advanced society by a warrior minority. Here his historical insight and political experience throw a new light on the whole problem; and there are many other places where he raises important questions which will have to be considered by the experts.

"A Report on the Greek Bronze Age" is the subtitle of the book, and it is well chosen. His book is strong in the qualities which distinguish his reporting: a keen nose for facts, a bold and coherent interpretation, and a clear and lively prose. For the literate public there is no better introduction to the subject; and the photographs by Allison Frantz, most of them new, superbly marshal the evidence Alsop is attempting to explain.

Democracy's Military Establishment

by Raymond D. Senter

In three decades, US defense expenditures have skyrocketed 100-fold so that today the Pentagon spends roughly 50 cents out of every federal tax dollar and buys nearly 10 percent of all the goods and services produced by this nation. This has impacted on our industry, our technology and perhaps on our democratic traditions to an extent unrecognized by many and understood by only a very few.

Power at the Pentagon
by Jack Raymond
(Harper & Row; $6.95)

One should therefore like to welcome a book bearing the title *Power at the Pentagon* written by a well-known reporter who aggressively covers the Pentagon for *The New York Times*, particularly when he characterizes it as "an effort to bring the whole into focus for the average citizen." Unfortunately, Mr. Raymond's account falls short of this objective.

With so much of importance that needs telling it is hard to understand why, for example, Jack Raymond devotes almost the first third of his book to detailing the often-told history of our World War II defense build-up and the atomic bomb project. And since Defense Secretary Robert McNamara is conceded, even by his harshest critics, to have done more to reshape the Pentagon than any previous Defense Secretary, it is surprising that a reader must wade through 15 chapters (out of a total of 18) including one on disarmament, before reaching a chapter which describes the controversial Pentagon chief and his policies. And then one finds McNamara described almost entirely in the words of his critics. That Mr. Raymond is not a McNamara admirer is obvious, but this hardly justifies letting the principal actor wait so long in the wings.

But the book's principal shortcoming, in my judgment, is its lack of perspective, its failure to attempt to explain the Pentagon today in terms of the internecine fighting, waste and duplication of the past. The author does not ignore these earlier problems, but they are loosely salted through the book so

Lenny Bruce Confessions
OF
A DIRTY TALKING DOPE FIEND
NEW 1 HR LP NIGHTCLUB + TRIAL + ARRESTS
Send $5.00:
LENNY BRUCE
8825 Hollywood Blvd., L. A., Calif.

A master workman surveys the evolving American democracy
Hod-Carrier

Notes of a Laborer on an Unfinished Cathedral
Gerald W. Johnson
Wise and witty, as sound as it is salty, this is one of Mr. Johnson's most challenging books on the American scene.
At all bookstores, $3.95
MORROW

New, from OXFORD
Argentina
A CITY AND A NATION
by JAMES R. SCOBIE
Backed by expert, first-hand knowledge, this up-to-date survey of Argentina from its discovery to the present emphasizes social and economic affairs throughout. Dr. Scobie vividly contrasts Argentina's remote pampas and villages with the sprawling urban complex of Buenos Aires. An appendix of historical and political events is included. This is the first volume of a new series of *Latin American Histories*, designed to broaden understanding of our restive southern neighbors. *Maps; bibliography. 336 pages.* $6.50
At all bookstores
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS • New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AN ACCOMMODATION FROM THE NEW REPUBLIC

Briefly:

you may purchase any book recently reviewed in *The New Republic* for 20 percent less than its retail price. Some of these books are listed in the coupon (below) with the bookstore prices and the lower rates to which you are entitled as a reader of *The New Republic.*

Your check must accompany the order. (We cannot bill you, because the bookkeeping and clerical costs would be prohibitive.)

You may order direct from us, as shown below. *Mail to*

THE NEW REPUBLIC
shipping department
1244 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Please send me a copy of each book I have checked off below.

☐ Huie: *The Hiroshima Pilot*
(retail price: $4.95) PRICE $3.96

☐ Hyams: *The Perfect Stranger*
(retail price: $4.50) PRICE $3.60

☐ Barzun: *Science: The Glorious Entertainment*
(retail price: $6) PRICE $4.80

☐ Malamud: *Idiots First*
(retail price: $4.50) PRICE $3.60

☐ Donleavy: *A Singular Man*
(retail price: $6) PRICE $4.80

☐ Baker: *A Fine Madness*
(retail price: $4.95) PRICE $3.96

TOTAL:_____*

* My check for this amount is enclosed.

Name_____
(please print)

Street_____

City_____ Zone___ State_____

that the average reader is not likely to see the cause-and-effect relationship.

Secretary McNamara is "accurately" accused of forcing the armed services to speak with a single voice. One can only hope that the reader recalls five chapters earlier when the author told of the interservice struggles which were so rampant in the previous decade, when admirals and generals used every available public platform to praise the weapons of their own service and take digs at competing weapons of the other services.

Mr. Raymond says that the Pentagon chief also is accurately accused of "establishing super-agencies to take over certain functions that had been handled separately by the individual military services." No attempt is made to explain that before Mr. McNamara took this action each service had its own organization to buy, stock and distribute automobile tires, radio tubes and screwdrivers. Today a single Defense Supply Agency handles such items for all services, and it does so with nearly 4,000 fewer employees at an annual saving of $31 million compared to the former separate service organizations. The joint agency also operates with a half-billion dollars less inventory on its shelves.

The Defense Secretary is criticized for "overriding the voice of professional military experience." But it is not until the next chapter that we are exposed to a few of the multi-hundred million dollar blunders that occurred pre-McNamara when the military professionals reigned supreme in the Pentagon and their civilian superiors were largely rubber stamps. For example, the Air Force spent $80 million to develop and build the Goose decoy missile before it discovered that the weapon's use was inconsistent with the Strategic Air Command's strategy and bomber tactics. Is this the kind of military expertise that McNamara is accused of ignoring? *Which* military expert should the Defense Secretary heed – the Army chief of staff who for several years has said that the Army's Nike Zeus is an effective defense against ballistic missiles and is ready for production, or the Air Force chief of staff who says Zeus would not be effective and should remain in development?

It was, after all, the military themselves who, recognizing the technological revolution that had occurred in weapons, set up their own civilian "Think Factories" and staffed them with bright young scientists. When some of these same scientists are brought to the Pentagon to handle the same sort of problems for the Defense Secretary they are derisively called "Whiz Kids."

Mr. Raymond says that, "these civilians have spread the notion that they had studied the military posture of the country and found it wanting." In several important areas this is precisely true. The war plan developed by the Strategic Air Command in the late 1940's when we had a monopoly on nuclear weapons and long-range delivery systems had never been revised, despite the drastic changes that had taken place in the 1950's, until the situation was discovered by some of the Pentagon's civilian scientists.

If many of the Pentagon press corps find themselves in the same camp with Mr. McNamara's military critics it is not surprising. For the Secretary, almost alone among top officials in the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, has not learned the value of working closely with the press. Practically never does he take them into his confidence and explain in advance the objectives of an upcoming policy change. But his uniformed critics in the Pentagon have no such reluctance, which explains why so many proposed controversial policies are reported in such exhaustive detail in the public press long before they have been formally issued.

In the concluding chapter, Mr. Raymond fears that the "US could embrace militarism under civilian as well as military auspices. . . . The margin of difference between a garrison state, even when created by civilian leaders purely out of concern for security, and a militaristic state embellished with a panoply of military customs and castes, cannot be very great." He is entitled to his opinion, but so long as McNamara's critics have access to the Pentagon press corps and maintain their many official (and unofficial) Congressional liaison officers, it will be hard for most readers to imagine that this or any future Secretary of Defense really poses a serious threat to our democratic institutions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The Battle for the Uncommitted..."

ON AFRICAN SOCIALISM

By LÉOPOLD SÉDAR SENGHOR. A remarkable document: the distinguished President of Senegal—poet, scholar, and statesman—on the theory and practice of African politics.
$4.95 cloth, $1.95 paper

EVOLUTION OR CHAOS

Dynamics of Latin American Government and Politics

By KARL M. SCHMITT and DAVID D. BURKS. With an Introduction by RONALD M. SCHNEIDER. "The best general study of Latin America today."—HERBERT L. MATTHEWS, *The New York Times Book Review.* $6.50 cloth, $2.50 paper

THE SOMALI DISPUTE

By JOHN DRYSDALE. "The outbreak of hostilities on the Somali-Ethiopia border has given point to the author's insistence that the Somali dispute is a serious threat to harmony. . . . His arguments are telling. Mr. Drysdale does not mince his words."—*The Times Literary Supplement.*
With maps. $4.95

THE WINDS OF REVOLUTION

Latin America Today—and Tomorrow

By TAD SZULC of *The New York Times.* "No one in many years has written more vividly and with greater understanding of the underlying causes of the Latin American ferment."—*The Saturday Review.* 3rd Large Printing. $5.95 cloth, $2.25 paper

AFRICA:

A Foreign Affairs Reader

Edited by PHILIP W. QUIGG. Foreword by HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG. A comprehensive—and revealing—selection of articles on Africa which appeared in *Foreign Affairs* over a period of forty years.
$6.95 cloth, $2.50 paper

AN AFRICAN STUDENT IN CHINA

by Emmanuel John Hevi

A vivid, first-hand report on university life in Communist China by a medical student from Ghana. Out of his dramatic experiences he answers such questions as: How serious is racial discrimination in China today? How competent is instruction in schools and colleges? What is daily life like for a Chinese university student?

"Nothing that we Westerners can say about the Communist Chinese can match the bitterness and anger of this young African. . . . His burning book is a warning to Africa's new nations not to take on China's chains."—JOHN BARKHAM, *The Saturday Review Syndicate.*

$4.95 at your bookstore

From "the nation's No. 1 publisher of books dealing with ideas and events growing out of the cold war."
—The New York Herald Tribune

FREDERICK A. PRAEGER
PUBLISHER / NEW YORK 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RECORDS

Toscanini Releases

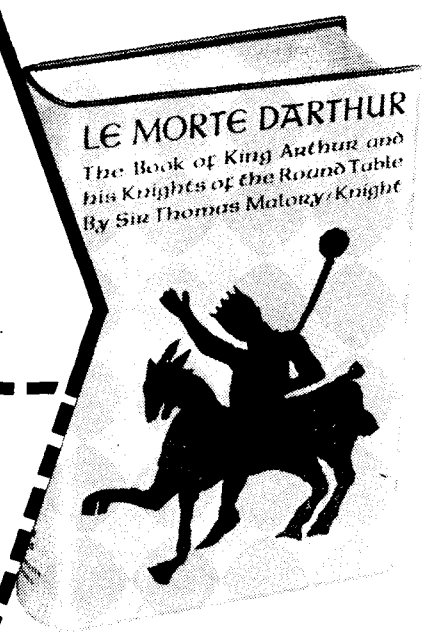
The good news that RCA Victor had contracted to issue two Toscanini albums a year during the next five years came at about the same time as the first of these releases: a 2-record album, LM-7026, *Toscanini Conducts Overtures*. And with gratification over all this there was disappointment and concern that Victor had not issued instead – and had not mentioned in its announcement of the new contract – the most important unreleased Toscanini performance of all: the one of Berlioz' *Romeo and Juliet*. It was Toscanini who first played the entire work here; and his performance was not only one of his outstanding achievements but incomparably superior to the performances that have been issued on records. From the NBC file recording of the 1947 broadcast an LP recording was processed under Toscanini's supervision and approved by him for release by Victor; but Victor hasn't released it, claiming the recorded sound wasn't good enough. I can testify that the sound is, on the contrary, clear, bright, true and agreeable – which cannot be said of the falsified sound of some of the reprocessed recordings Victor *has* issued; and it seems more probable that Victor has wanted to protect its two Munch-Boston Symphony recordings of *Romeo*. By now it has accomplished its purpose, and should be willing to issue the Toscanini recording; and I urge music-lovers to request this of the RCA-Victor Company.

Meanwhile *Toscanini Conducts Overtures* has great value in giving us for the first time on records a number of superbly fashioned performances (all but two from NBC Symphony broadcasts) of pieces – some of them of first importance – that Toscanini played only rarely. First Mozart's Overture to *Don Giovanni* (Toscanini's only American performance, in January 1946) and Overture to *Figaro* (the unusual unhurried and clear one of December 1943, not, as Victor says, the more usual faster one of November 1947, whose striking differences make it regrettable that Victor didn't give us both versions of this brief piece). Then Rossini's seldom-heard Overture to *The Siege of Corinth*, unusual in the extensive development of its thematic substance (the performance is from a recording session in 1945); Gluck's stately Overture to *Iphigénie en Aulide* (November 1952); Cherubini's Overtures to *Medea* (February 1950) and *Ali Baba* (December 1949) – the first with impassioned writing that demonstrates Cherubini's power as a dramatic composer, the second with delightful writing that demonstrates this power in operatic comedy (the marvelously enlivened playing in both demonstrates what caused one NBC cellist to exclaim after a rehearsal: "You know, we're beginning to sound like a symphony orchestra!"); and Cimarosa's engaging Overture to *Il Matrimonio Segreto* (November 1943). We also get a performance (March 1953) of Cherubini's fine Overture to *Anacreon*, which Toscanini played a number of times. And we get later performances of pieces he recorded for Victor in the 30's: Mozart's Overture to *The Magic Flute* (a performance with an unusually slow, solemn introduction and an Allegro slower than Toscanini's usual dazzlingly fast Allegro of the 1938 performance on the early Victor record, or the even faster Allegro of the November 1946 performance that is not, as Victor says, on the new record); and Rossini's delightful Overture to *L'Italiana in Algeri* (an April 1950 concert performance which demonstrates that the NBC Symphony was beginning to sound like a symphony orchestra, but not quite like the marvelously sensitized New York Philharmonic of the 1936 recorded performance). For the rest the album offers Brahms' *Tragic* and *Academic Festival* Overtures and Cimarosa's *Il Matrimonio per Raggiro*. I am happy to report that this time the recorded sound hasn't been altered appreciably from its various Studio 8H and Carnegie Hall originals, all of them agreeable to the ear – the defects being those of the

Special Introductory Offer

Unexpurgated and really readable – thanks to modern spelling – the complete book of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table. Nothing has been left out: neither the great tales of seduction (Lancelot and Guinevere, Tristan and Isolde), nor the pre-Christian magic. Here is Malory for adults. Exact replica of the historic *Medici Society Edition*. Over 1,000 pp. Published at $15.00.

Special Price, $9.95



MAIL COUPON NOW

University Books, New Hyde Park, N. Y.

Please send **LE MORTE D'ARTHUR** (list price $15.00) at special introductory price of only $9.95. If not delighted, I may return book in 10 days for refund.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... Zone ..... State .....

☐ SAVE! Enclose $9.95 publisher pays postage MNR-9

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

originals: the excessive hall reverberation that clouds the big tuttis of *The Siege of Corinth;* the crescendos in *L'Italiana* that rise to less than the full volume of the climaxes; the missing bass in *Anacreon,* which I was able to restore to a degree by turning up the bass knob, but more effectively by turning the bass-equalization knob to "800" on the Marantz mono preamplifier or to "tape" on the McIntosh C-20 stereo preamplifier.

A work Toscanini loved to perform was Verdi's *Te Deum,* one of his *Four Sacred Pieces.* If *Falstaff,* as the work of a man in his late 70's, is rightly considered a miracle, the *Te Deum,* which he wrote in his 80's, is an even greater miracle, with its incandescent flow of invention which, like Mozart's, pierces the heart with its marvelous and almost unbearable loveliness. On Angel 36125 (mono) Giulini gives us a performance with the wonderful Philharmonia Orchestra and Chorus that can take its place beside Toscanini's, and that is of course more beautifully reproduced. Of the other pieces the *Stabat Mater* and *Laudi alla Vergine Maria* are good; but the most impressive is the strangely beautiful *Ave Maria,* which Verdi wrote as a mere exercise in the use of a *scala enigmatica* he encountered in a magazine.

Giulini is clearly one of the most impressive of the older conductors now operating; and another, of course, is von Karajan, who – on London CM-9369 and CS-6369 – conducts the Vienna Philharmonic in an effectively paced performance of Mozart's Symphony K.551 (*Jupiter*) which gives the first movement the majesty that presumably brought the work its title.

Leinsdorf, on the other hand, continues to make it clear that he is a highly competent technician but a mediocre and uninteresting musician. The latest evidence is the performance of Mozart's *Jupiter* Symphony on Victor LM- and LSC-2694, with excellent playing by the Boston Symphony but with a first movement too fast for majesty and a finale insufficiently animated for brilliance.

The keyboard music of Rameau – which includes some charming and lovely pieces, and others that appeal more to listeners with a special taste for the style of this music than they do to me – is performed by Albert Fuller on Cambridge 601/2/3 and 1601/2/3. I like the delicate quality and moderate size of the sound of his Dowd harpsichord, and the sensitive and enlivening performances he produces with it.

In the new performance of Schubert's great Quintet Op. 163 by the Budapest Quartet and Benar Heifetz on Columbia ML-5936 (mono) the first violin's tone is at times excruciating in its unpleasantness. The recording to acquire is the one of the Prades Festival performance of Stern, Schneider, Katims, Casals and Tortelier.

Readers with monophonic reproducing systems can improve them greatly with a stereo cartridge that will give finer reproduction even of their mono records; and the new Shure M-44, an improved version of the M-33 that produces beautiful sound, can be had at half the price of the M-33. I recommend getting the M-44-7 with its .7-mil stylus for both mono and stereo records, and using it in a Grado arm. For high-quality systems there is the new Shure V-15 with elliptical stylus, producing sound which is more luminous and rich, and in which detail is more distinctly defined and audible.

B. H. Haggin

Notes on Contributors

Bernard Knox *is director of the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, D. C.* Ramond D. Senter *is the pseudonym of a well-known military analyst.*

FILMS

April Garland

The Night Watch (Consort/Orion)

Paris When It Sizzles (Paramount)

From Russia with Love (United Artists)

Of Wayward Love (Pathe-Contemporary)

The late Jacques Becker is best known in America for *Casque d'Or* (1952), a film of *crimes passionelles* in 19th Century Paris which introduced Simone Signoret to us and which is a premier example of fine period recreation. Now we have his last film *The Night Watch* (originally called *Le Trou*), a prison-break drama and a disappointment. A friend of mine goes to see prisoner-of-war escape pictures (*The Wooden Horse, The Great Escape,* etc., etc., etc.) to have one question answered: How will the tunnelers get rid of the dirt *this* time? There is not much more to concern the viewer in this civilian escape story; its commonplaceness is not leavened by the less-than-novel novelty of being based on fact. The picture comes heralded by praise in several classy film journals. They seem to have been impressed with Becker's theory: by *dwelling* on the details, by making us watch (seemingly) every blow of the chisel on cement floor and walls, he hoped to give us the experience in thicker texture. But, in practice, this abstract idea soon dissolves into tedium. Besides, the quasi naturalistic use of time does not jibe with the flimsy look of the cell setting and the incredible excavation noise with the guards just outside.

Two good points. There is a sharp shocker at the end, viewed through a periscope mirror. There is a subtle scene in which a guard examines the contents of packages sent to prisoners, methodically slicing cheeses, sausages, cakes to make sure they contain no smuggled items. The use of the same unclean knife for all this, the "brutalization" of the food while the prisoner

"Down at Chapel Hill, *they're just wild about Senator Fulbright, though they do rather regret that he believes in keeping the Nigras in their place. But the Senator promises to cooperate in any program to keep the peoples enslaved by the Communists, whether white, black, or brown, in* **their** *place, so he really isn't guilty of discrimination. If you can't see what we mean, why, you were not educated at Chapel Hill. Poor thing."*

For the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW, send 25¢ to Dept. R-3, 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

waits and watches, is a small epitome of humiliation.

Contributions are in order from admirers of Audrey Hepburn to buy and suppress all copies of *Paris When It Sizzles*, her latest film. It is based on an old Duvivier opus called *Henriette*, which itself was deadly; the new script by George Axelrod embalms the original instead of reviving it. A screen writer (William Holden) engages a secretary in Paris to help him finish a script in a few days. As he and she wrestle with the plot, it comes to life before their (our) eyes, with themselves in the leading roles. When matters seem to be going wrong, they can go back and change what we have seen or alter the direction completely. The possibilities are limitless, which is precisely what is wrong. It takes the invention of a Sacha Guitry to justify and control such license. Axelrod simply flounders. His dialogue and Holden's gift for comedy amply deserve each other. Noel Coward is briefly on hand at his most repellent. And in the midst of this meager harvest is Miss Audrey Hepburn trying to make chaff out of corn.

The most successful film in Britain at present is *From Russia with Love*, the second James Bond adventure to reach the screen. Ian Fleming's sadistic-suave secret agent is now involved in anti-Soviet shenanigans in Istanbul, the principal girl is Russian, and of course there are other willing ladies, including gypsies. James Bond is again played by Sean Connery, and although he is not very good at it, it seems to be where he belongs. This is not true of Lotte Lenya as a tough spy and Robert Shaw (of *The Caretaker*) as a cool killer. I hope they were both paid well.

Outside of the feeling that the film seemed to end two or three times before it actually finished, only one impression remains strongly with me. All through it I seemed to hear typewriters clicking, pens squeaking, pages rustling. Somewhere at this moment (I thought) a doctoral thesis is being prepared – in contemporary lit or social psychology – on the *oeuvres* of Ian Fleming. Someone is doing a close textual analysis of them all, is making a linear comparison between the novels and the screenplays, and especially is delving for myths, for moral comment and significance. The Age of Innocence is indeed past. A writer can't even be a hack any more – according to the lights of his time – without becoming a Cultural Fact. Children as yet unborn will some day be instructed by a teacher who got his degree in Fleming.

Of Wayward Love is an Italian "anthology" film which hints that there may be gleaners in the business, producers who go around picking up episodes that have been dropped from other anthologies. It is doubtless untrue, but that is what this scrappy collection suggests. The most disappointing of the three episodes is the one with Lilli Palmer and Bernhard Wicki because they are in it – as a German professor and his wife touring Sicily. The only sketch of interest was written (in collaboration) by Nino Manfredi and was directed by him with himself in the leading role. It is a pantomime encounter between a soldier and a luscious young widow on a train, in which neither speaks a word while conversation spins around them. Credibility is not its strong point, but as an exercise in comedy on Manfredi's part, it is amusing; and it points to possibilities from this versatile young man.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

FREE!

with trial subscription, the current issue of

Commentary

the distinguished independent journal of thought and opinion sponsored as a public service by the American Jewish Committee.

The current issue includes:

THE REVOLT AGAINST IDEOLOGY: A critique of current modes of political thinking by the distinguished Harvard philosopher, Henry David Aiken.

INTERMARRIAGE AND THE JEWISH FUTURE by Marshall Sklare.

ON BEING A SOUTHERN LIBERAL: A candid autobiographical statement by Ronnie Dugger, the controversial young editor of the *Texas Observer*.

If not pleased with free issue let us know and your subscription will be cancelled. Trial offer for new subscribers only.

COMMENTARY, DEPT. NR-23
165 East 56th St., New York, N. Y. 10022

Please send, free, the current issue of COMMENTARY. In addition, enter my name for an 8-month trial subscription for $2.70. I may cancel after first free issue and you will send no bill.

Name_____

Address_____

City/Zone_____ State_____

☐ EXTRA ISSUE! Enclose $2.70 now and we will extend your subscription to 9 months. Same cancellation with full refund.

MAGAZINES

Segregating the Gifted

"For several years," Bruno Bettelheim notes in the April 11 *Saturday Evening Post*, "it has been fashionable to maintain that our schools fail to develop our gifted children. Ordinary classwork, so the argument runs, doesn't challenge bright youngsters to excel, and the result is a 'tragic waste' of that 'precious national resource' called 'brainpower.' To meet these criticisms the schools have devised complicated new systems of education which segregate the more able students and provide them with intensive instruction."

Stop Pampering Gifted Children
by Bruno Bettelheim
(*Saturday Evening Post*, April 11)

"As a psychologist with a special interest in education," Bettelheim continues, "I believe this is a mistake. Taking the gifted child out of the regular classroom and pushing him ahead as fast as he can move creates very serious problems for the child and for all society. Segregating the gifted, I am convinced, harms both the advanced student and the not so advanced."

Traditionally, the argument about

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

segregating the gifted has revolved around four questions:

1. Do bright students learn more when taught separately?
2. Do average students learn more when taught separately?
3. Do bright students become contemptuous of average students when taught separately?
4. Does segregating those who show high IQ scores from those with low scores hinder the gifted child from a poor family?

Bettelheim's answers to these questions are startling to say the least.

First, he argues that while gifted students may learn more by academic standards when enrolled in schools and classes designed specially for them, they suffer psychologically. If a child can master a one hour lesson in the first ten minutes of the class, Bettelheim argues, he has the time to go over the material three or four times. Far from producing boredom, he claims, this "helps produce greater recall and emotional ease in meeting intellectual tasks." In addition, children who master the lesson in the first ten minutes have time to daydream, to wonder why the teacher devotes so much time to trivia, to develop their own views on the problem in hand, and to "acquire a much deeper appreciation of life, of the arts, and above all of the human beings around them." Finally, the child who excels effortlessly (because his classmates are of only average ability) will develop "the courage to take on difficult problems." He becomes self-confident. If, by contrast, the child has gifted competitors from the very start, he may not recognize his own ability.

Having argued in this fashion, it is somewhat startling to discover that Bettelheim also opposes ability grouping on the ground IQ tests (which are usually the basis of grouping) classify large numbers of potentially bright slum children as mediocre. I would have expected Bettelheim to regard this as an advantage. Saved from segregation by the fallibility of the test, gifted children from poor homes should, according to Bettelheim's logic, develop more satisfactorily than those of their middle-class competitors whose potential is identified early. But no. The poor child who winds up in a class full of mediocre classmates is handicapped, both academically and socially. Only the children of the better-off benefit from studying alongside slow learners.

This is a bizarre theory, in support of which one would welcome some empirical evidence. The only fact offered in this connection by Dr. Bettelheim appears to be demonstrably wrong. It is foolish, he argues, to group children from poor homes when they are young, because it takes some years of schooling to offset the handicap of coming from a deprived home. "Not until high school is the young adult usually free enough from his home background for his native talents fully to unfold." Yet the known facts seem, to me at least, to refute this. Far from washing out the differences between rich and poor, schooling (or at least growing older) seems to accentuate differences. On IQ tests, at any rate, rich and poor are more alike at birth than in kindergarten, and more alike in first grade than in tenth grade. Special classes for gifted slum children are an attempt to prevent such regression.

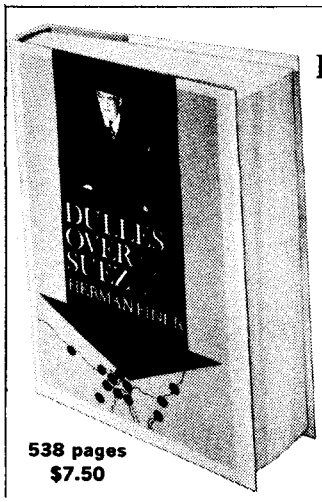
The importance of Bettelheim's article rests on his answers to other questions, however. His real concern is not with the gifted *per se;* it is with the average student. Such students learn less, Bettelheim thinks, when they have no gifted classmates. In addition, he fears that in the long run the academically inept will become a new proletariat, ruled from on high by the intellectually gifted.

To support his fears, he compares a classroom to a mountain climbing expedition, and asks what the effect would be if a group of mediocre climbers set off, with no experts in their company (except perhaps the leader) and attempted a difficult climb. The result would often be disaster. That is why expert and novice climbers are usually mixed – so the novices can learn by example and advice.

The metaphor is suggestive, but not conclusive. One could, after all, compare education to a competitive rather than a cooperative sport – say tennis. Would Bettelheim argue that the way to teach a duffer tennis is to constantly match him against the club champion, off whom he cannot score a point? I think not. The traditional formula has been to give the duffer occasional lessons from the pro, and otherwise match him against players of approximately equal ability.

Is classroom activity more like tennis or mountain climbing – more competitive or cooperative? I suspect Bettelheim would admit that today competition and individual excellence are the dominant motifs in most schools. Until that motif changes, perhaps ability grouping makes more sense than he admits. Or, to put it another way, until all schools are run by educators committed to cooperation and mutual support as the primary motives for learning, classes with a wide spread of ability may fail to make the gifted as democratic and egalitarian as Bettelheim hopes. If a would-be physicist spends twelve years in classes with basketball players who think him queer, he may emerge as scornful of them as if he had spent twelve years in class with other would-be physicists, and knew basketball stars only by hearsay.

Suppose, for example, that Bettelheim were to take a large group of gifted



538 pages
$7.50

DULLES OVER SUEZ by HERMAN FINER

For eight years SILENCE...now

The dramatic story of the personalities and power politics behind the Suez crisis of 1956 which triggered a hot war in the Middle East, threatened a nuclear World War III and crippled America's relations with its allies.

Here is a towering portrait of John Foster Dulles, his overshadowing influence on foreign policy, the harvest of his *brinkmanship*.

Herman Finer has personally interviewed over fifty of the major participants in the crisis, including Eisenhower, Anthony Eden, Selwyn Lloyd, Guy Mollet, Christian Pineau.

QUADRANGLE BOOKS
180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago 60606

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

students from diverse educational backgrounds, such as the entering class at Harvard College. Some would have attended schools for the gifted (e.g. Exeter, Bronx High School of Science). Some would have attended schools which catered to both the gifted and the mediocre (e.g. Pennsy Prep and Pocatello High). Bettelheim is confident that the first group would be more intellectually arrogant, more elitist and less sympathetic to the mediocre majority than the second group. I wish I shared his certainty.

CHRISTOPHER JENCKS

Correspondence

Love and Anomie

Sirs:

Though not unmindful of the honor Mr. Burling Lowrey does me by calling attention in these columns last week to my book, *The Sexually Deprived: A National Disgrace,* I must object to certain misstatements he made. *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus.* At the time my book was withdrawn from the American market (it has been reprinted in Hong Kong), it had sold not 628 but 1,328 copies. Nor did I go to Mexico after its withdrawal, but earlier, on a Foundation grant to study anomie and its relation in sexual alienation. This study, which owes so much to earlier investigations of pseudo-Gemeinschaft by the late Dr. Gerhardt Funstermacher has now been completed.

Orber Rebro
Aguachillo, Mexico

YOU CAN AFFORD THE FINEST
BRENTANO
SCULPTURE
Now you can grace your home with authentic museum masterpieces in replica — reproduced in enduring Alvastone with astonishing fidelity to originals sculpted by such artists as Rodin, Renoir, Degas, Michelangelo and an unknown Egyptian genius of the New Kingdom (ca. 1250 B.C.). From $2.75 to $350.00.
We invite you to visit Brentano's Gallery of Sculpture Masterpieces in Replica (at New York, Washington or San Francisco stores). Or send 25¢ for the handsome new 62-page Sculpture Catalog. Includes more than 100 striking photographs of the world's greatest sculpture; informative annotated descriptions of each piece (so accurate that this catalog is used as a supplementary text in many art courses); and a special section on museum jewelry in replica.
Brentano's Dept. NR-1
586 Fifth Avenue New York, 10036

How About It, Detroit?

Sirs:

Articles such as "How About It, Detroit" by Rainer F. Meyerowitz (April 4), have always fascinated me. One doesn't know how to respond. It's such a huge thing, somewhat like a lawn infested by a mass of crabgrass. Is the best approach to remove it by an overall attack with chemicals, or by digging out each individual clump?

Why would a fellow want a hood that doesn't sound like a street car falling into a coal mine? The hood should keep the engine covered, give continuity to the lines of the car, close easily, not rattle, and not break. To have it sound like a marshmallow falling into a coal mine is really not the purpose.

"The roofs of sedans seem to be made of cardboard!" What is the author planning to do with the roof – slide his car on it? It's really tough to get a car on its roof, the center of gravity is pretty low (that's why the seats have been squashed – to make the center of gravity lower). The car is more difficult to tip, if it's hit on the side. It's lower for less wind resistance (slanting back windows are part of this) so you don't pay for pushing a box through the air.

"Old-fashioned fenders were round and seamless." What does this mean, Is there something special in roundness in automobile fenders (Girls, yes, but automobile fenders!?). As for being seamless, the author hasn't looked at a fender lately. It isn't a separate fender, its an integral part of one-fourth of the body shell.

All the suggested improvements are available on some make of vehicle. Checker, I believe, has instruments for oil pressure, generator charge and the rest. Jeep has winches, towing hooks, post hole digging and snow plow attachments. Some trucks have those other gadgets the author suggests (tremendous side-view mirrors). At any given time, there are probably 100 "improvements" on the manufacturer's list in addition to those suggested by the author. Some are practical, a lot are not.

I buy *The New Republic* to read some interesting opinions. Has Mr. Meyerowitz looked into this or is he just making words come forth – to agitate the air? I can get that kind of opinion in the neighborhood bar.

J. Zytkewick
Dearborn Heights, Michigan

Bang, Bang, You're Dead

Sirs:

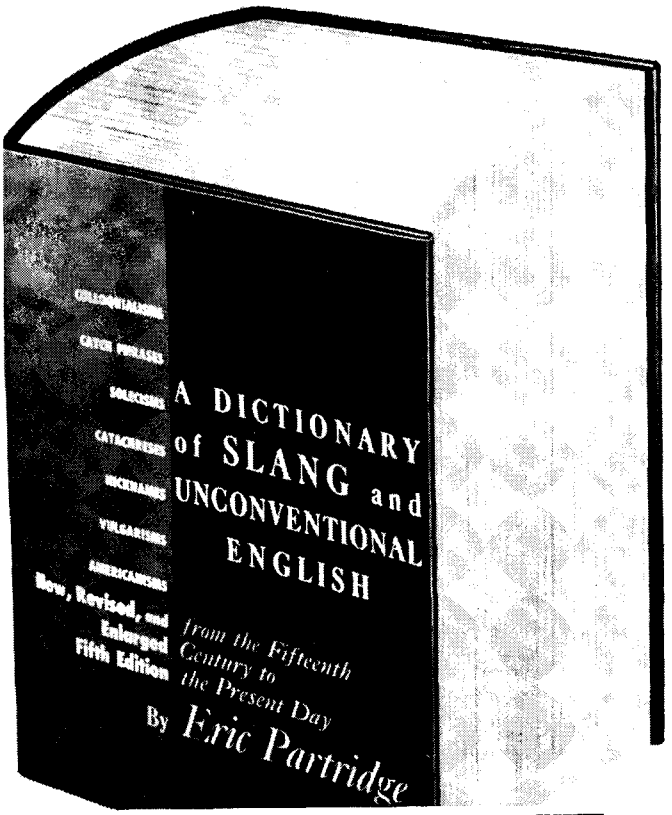
Albert Goldman's comments on the latest TV-violence hooha are, as one would expect, shrewd and sensible. But I hope that he may be drawing too pessimistic a conclusion when, referring back to the horror-comics case, he predicts that once again "doors will be slammed but no windows opened."

Ten years ago, referring to horror comics, Sir Herbert Read said that the child's taste for violence was the product of a starved imagination, for which our educational system was largely to blame; that censorship and repressive measures were no solution; that the only real defenses were those raised in the individual child's mind.

A group of British teachers, of whom I am proud to have been one of the first, had even then had five years of experience carrying these tenets into practice in regard to, first, the cinema, later to television. The Society for Education in Film and Television, as it now is called, has worked for nearly fifteen years to develop and practice methods of "screen education" based on a sympathetic, positive approach to children's taste in viewing.

Windows, in fact, *are* being opened, and at a steadily increasing rate. In this country, where (in comparison with Europe) relatively little positive action – as opposed to an enormous amount of condemnation – has yet taken place, quite a few developments have been brought to my notice since I arrived

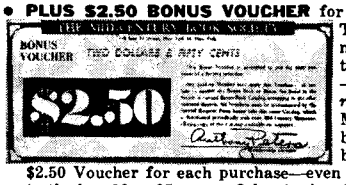
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



ANY 3 BOOKS FREE

WE WILL GIVE YOU...

- **ANY 3 BOOKS FREE**—even if one of your 3 choices is this $16 Dictionary!
- **PLUS 1 OR MORE OTHER BOOKS** for only $2.95 each *regardless of regular retail prices up to $10 or more!*
- **PLUS $2.50 BONUS VOUCHER** for each and every book you buy later. These $2.50 *Bonus Vouchers*—which may be applied immediately, at any time, toward other books of your choice—are given *in addition* to massive *outright discounts* on books offered by The Mid-Century Book Society, which has been called "America's most rewarding book club." You receive at least one $2.50 Voucher for each purchase—even on the many books offered to members in the low $3 to $5 range. Other books often earn *more* than one voucher.

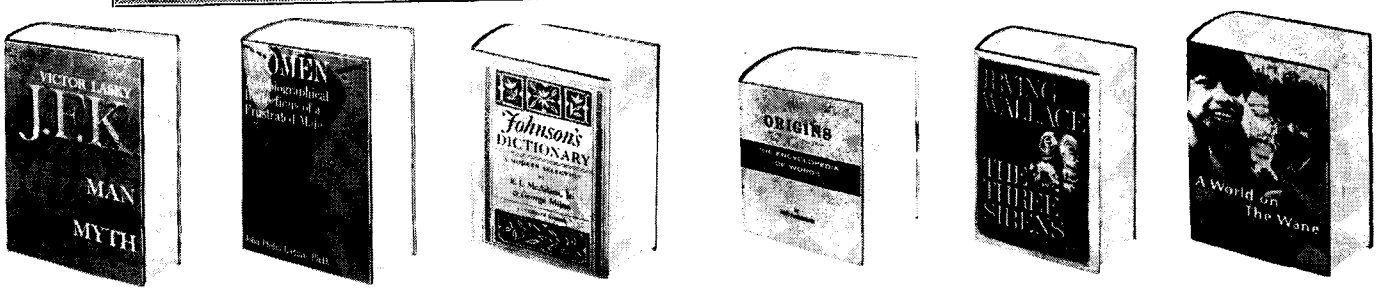


- **SAVE UP TO 90% NOW.** New readers may thus save up to 90% *now*—by joining the Society *at this time.* While you need take only one book at the introductory *extra-discount* price, the more you take the more you save.
- **CANCELLATION.** *Either*—return all these books after 2-weeks' free examination, without cost or obligation. *Or*—take only two more books during the coming year out of hundreds to be offered.
- **THE MID-CENTURY MAGAZINE FREE,** bringing you advance reviews of new books published each month—with informed recommendations of books to both read and *keep* [no fall-apart paperbacks] in every subject-category—books for pleasure, profit, reference . . . for the many interests, needs and appetites of America's "New Renaissance" readers . . . the best *novels, non-fiction, reference works, biographies, art books, histories*—and many more.
- **PROFIT SHARING:** Because the Society can order books in large quantities, it shares profits with members through sensationally *lower prices* plus the *Bonus Book Vouchers.* Members can thus buy first-run books—in publishers' regular cloth-bound editions for their permanent libraries [not cardboard-bound "cheapies"]—for less than throw-away paperbacks cost!
- **BECAUSE** many of the books offered in this announcement are in short supply, fulfillment of this offer can only be guaranteed for 30 days. ***Please, therefore, enter all your choices by number on the Request Form—and mail without delay.***

FOR EXAMPLE:

☐ **132. DICTIONARY OF SLANG & UNCONVENTIONAL ENGLISH by Eric Partridge.** Defines the "secret" words not in regular dictionaries, including colloquialisms, argot, slang, cant, Americanisms, catch phrases, nicknames, vulgarisms, "four-letter words," etc. The new revised and enlarged 5th edition–1,376 pp., 50,000 definitions totaling 1,400,000 words, 9½x7x2½ inches [Published by Macmillan Co.]

PUBLISHER'S RETAIL PRICE $16



PLEASE ORDER BY NUMBER

The GERMAN "CATCH-22"

☐ **181. THE OFFICER FACTORY** *by Hans Hellmut Kirst.* Revolving around a mysterious murder in a Nazi officers' training school in 1944, this great new novel presents an intimate picture of the behind-the-scenes chaos of Hitler's Third Reich in a series of gripping events that range from nerve-tearing tragedy to high comedy. (502 pp.) *Retail $6.50.*

☐ **251. WOMEN** *by John P. Lundin.* This joyful "confession" of a modern man's lascivious relationships with 10 women puts to shame the memoirs of Casanova and Frank Harris. *Retail $6.50.*

☐ **938. 2-BOOK SET** [Counts as one book under this offer]: **RIMBAUD** *by Enid Starkie.* This illuminating biography candidly reveals the morbid delights and fearful sorrows of *Rimbaud,* slave trader and super-debauchee as well as sensitive aesthete. 491 pp. **BAUDELAIRE** *by Enid Starkie.* The unbelievable story of the tortured life of this passionate genius—poet, drug addict, dandy, nihilist—that has become legendary. 621 pp. [Both books profusely illustrated with drawings and photographs.] *Combined Retail $20.00.*

☐ **252. J.F.K.** *by Victor Lasky.* The controversial best seller. *Retail $7.95.*

☐ **933. JOHNSON'S DICTIONARY: A Modern Selection** from the most famous and most wickedly personal dictionary of all time. A delight to read and browse. *Retail $6.50.*

☐ **233. PERVERSE CRIMES IN HISTORY** *by R. E. L. Masters.* The weird and little-known facts about sex crimes and criminals—by the author of the famous "underground" best-seller, "Cradle of Erotica." *Retail $9.50.*

☐ **224. WRITERS IN REVOLT,** *edited by Richard Seaver, Terry Southern & Alexander Trocchi.* An outstanding collection of the constructively shocking writing of avant garde authors of today and yesterday, among them: *de Sade, Baudelaire, Henry Miller, Lawrence Durrell, Sartre, Allen Ginsberg. Retail $7.50.*

☐ **259. THE LETTERS OF F. SCOTT FITZGERALD** [615 pp., Illus.] *edited by A. Turnbull. Retail $10.00.*

☐ **257. DOROTHY AND RED** *by Vincent Sheean.* ". . . the frankest revelation of a marriage ever published." Here is a love story, told largely in their own intimate letters, which is also something of a mystery story, a tragedy and a comedy—a multi-drama in which Sinclair Lewis and Dorothy Thompson play themselves. [Illus.] *Retail $6.95.*

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORDS

☐ **33. ORIGINS by Eric Partridge.** The most comprehensive encyclopedia-dictionary in 58 years of words and their origins. 12,000 alphabetized sections; 1,300,000 words; 970 pages. *Retail $16.00.*

☐ **908. THE DOUGHBOYS: The Story of The AEF [1917-18]** *by L. Stallings. 102 B&W and 12 full color illus. Retail $5.95*

☐ **88. PARADE'S END** *by Ford Madox Ford.* "A major classic of this century." [4 novels in 1 vol., 886 pp.] *Retail $7.50.*

☐ **192. THOMAS MANN: THE "JOSEPH" TETRALOGY.** 4 of Mann's greatest novels in 1 vol.—1,200 pp. *Retail $8.50.*

☐ **255. THE THREE SIRENS** *by Irving Wallace. Retail $5.95.*

☐ **965. LORD OF THE FLIES** *by W. Golding* and **THE PETTY DEMON** *by F. Sologub.* [2-bk. set; counts as 1 bk.] *Comb. Retail $9.95.*

☐ **207. THE CRADLE OF EROTICA** *by R. E. L. Masters. Retail $9.50.*

☐ **254. SUNSET AND TWILIGHT:** *Diaries of Bernard Berenson.* Illus. *Retail $8.75.*

☐ **163. ANOTHER COUNTRY** *by James Baldwin. Retail $5.95.*

☐ **916. THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO & PERU** *by W. H. Prescott.* 2 vols. in 1—unabridged new edition. 1,288 pp., fully indexed. *Retail $12.50.*

☐ **149. A WORLD ON THE WANE.** Perhaps the most remarkable work ever published on a sexually-uninhibited primitive culture. Includes 116 revealing photographs and drawings. *Retail $12.50.*

SEND NO MONEY

REQUEST FORM

NR-60

Mail to: The Mid-Century Book Society, 115 East 31st Street, New York 16, N. Y.

Enroll me as a trial member and send me the 3 FREE BOOKS indicated below—charging me only for the one or more other books ordered at the *special new-member price* of only $2.95 each.

My only obligation is to buy two future selections during the coming year from the 100 or more to be offered at average savings of 50% under the publishers' retail prices. Over and above outright *Discounts,* I am to receive at least one *$2.50 Bonus Book Voucher* with each book purchased.

[PLEASE INDICATE YOUR CHOICES BELOW BY NUMBER.]

I. SEND THE FOLLOWING SELECTIONS FREE—with New-Member Purchase(s) at right.

II. SEND THE FOLLOWING SELECTION(S) AT SPECIAL NEW-MEMBER'S PRICE ($2.95).

Name _____

Address _____ City _____ Zone _____ State _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Any Book

Out-of-print books located—no matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! (Title alone is sufficient.) All authors, subjects. Fiction, nonfiction. No obligation.

Books-On-File
Dept. NEW Union City, N. J.

WHERE IS THAT BOOK?

Don't fret—We can get any out-of-print books you need, and fast. Our Book-Lures hunt out all your wanted book lore. Free world-wide search. Send your lists to—

BOOK-LURES
P.O. BOX 422-R
CALDWELL, NEW JERSEY

333 EUROPEAN HOTELS

140 cities, 19 countries covered in handy list of excellent, inexpensive hotels. Prices, Addresses.

BON VOYAGE $1.
Box 24684NR
Los Angeles 24, Calif.

EUROPE

An unregimented trip stressing individual freedom. Low cost yet covers all the usual plus places other tours miss. Unless the standard tour is a "must" for you, discover this unique tour before you go to Europe.
EUROPE SUMMER TOURS
255 Sequoia, Dept. N—Pasadena, California

PAPERBACKS
of Jewish Interest
(History, Music, Art, Humor, Language, Philosophy, etc.)
Also clothbound bargains
FREE CATALOG!
LOWY'S HEBREW SUPPLIES
73 W. Mt. Pleasant Dept. T
Livingston, New Jersey

L'EXPRESS

The leading liberal newspaper in France today.
Send 25c for your sample copy.
Howard Publications
7th floor
132 West 43rd Street
New York 36, N.Y.

here last September. Teachers and educators generally are quickly realizing that the problems presented by children's love of television are not insuperable – indeed, constitute an exciting challenge to teachers willing to face the facts. I foresee that "screen education" will become widespread here in quite a short time: indeed, my major concern is to ensure that it is undertaken on a properly educational, well-thought-out, basis, and that overenthusiasm does not turn it into another "gimmick."

My study of this subject, shortly to be published by UNESCO, will, I hope, provide the right foundation. May I invite those of your readers whose interest I may have aroused to communicate with me in the meantime?

A. W. Hodgkinson
Boston University

Cops and Guns

Sirs:

Mr. P. O'Grady, in his comments (March 28) on my article "Cops with Guns" (March 14), misses the point in exactly the same way as the official police protestations. He accuses me of wanting to let criminals escape to "perhaps" commit further crimes. (The "perhaps" is his, although his use of quotes was apparently intended to attribute it to me.) But if the fugitives I mentioned had been captured, they would still, even if convicted, have been free in a few months or years. Their crimes were not capital offenses – but the patrolmen's bullets meted out death sentences beyond appeal. Here is a denial of judicial process that is, it seems to me, without a sufficiently compensating civic benefit.

As for the formal hearings I suggested, the key point made was that they should determine whether the shooting was necessary to *the safety of the officer*, not to the apprehension of the fugitive. From the results of the hearings conducted in the cases I specified, this distinction was obviously not controlling.

Mr. O'Grady nominates the blue uniform itself as the cause of the Harlem demonstrations, because it is symbolic of the foe of "narcotics pushers . . . numbers banks . . . those who would manhandle, mug, or murder." Is it Mr. O'Grady's opinion that all the residents of Harlem who have protested police brutality (including clergymen of practically every denomination) fit in those categories?

Lew Petterson
New York, N.Y.

Three Chicago cases illustrate the danger and futility of high-speed chases by the police:

1. April 30, 1963: Two persons were killed and two seriously injured when an auto being chased by police collided with another at an intersection. Police engaged in the chase thru city streets, including the wrong way down a one-way street, because the car resembled one reported seen near several burglaries in the area.

2. April 8, 1963: When two patrolmen stopped to question a teen-age couple parked on the shoulder of a highway, the couple's auto sped away. Police gave chase to speeds of 75 mph until the fleeing auto failed to make a turn. The girl was fatally injured.

3. May 29, 1963: A stolen car driven by a 14-year-old boy collided with two other autos, killing two persons and injuring three. Police gave chase until the youth lost control at a speed exceeding 70 mph. In his attempt to evade capture, the youth was driving without lights.

A disturbing aspect of these cases was that no one publicly protested or even questioned the police action. Apparently the deaths of these innocent people were attributed wholly to the unlawful flight of the suspect, rather than to the irresponsible high-speed chase by the would-be apprehenders.

Wayne Evans Parsons
Chicago, Ill.

HANDMADE CIGARS
MASTER CRAFTSMEN MAKE THESE SUPERB CIGARS OF FINEST HAVANA AND IMPORTED LEAF

Box of 25

6A Coronas, 5 in. long, Medium Thick.....$ 6.25
6B Corona Magna, 6 in. long, Thick.....$ 7.75
6C Panetelas, 6 in. long, Slim.....$ 6.25
6D Palmas, 6 in. long, Medium Thick.....$ 7.45
6E Elegantes, 7 in. long, Slim.....$ 7.45
6F Magnificos, 7 in. long, Thick.....$10.50
6G Churchills, 7 in. long, Superthick.....$13.50

Packed in Cedar Boxes

Choice of Wrappers: Havana Candela (Claro)
English Market (Medium Claro)
Ambrosia (Dark)

Order Direct From Factory

CIGAR CRAFTSMEN'S GUILD OF TAMPA
2008 - 14th Street, Tampa 5, Florida

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"SEE DICK RUN. FUNNY, FUNNY DICK." Anti-Nixon Buttons. 25c each. Will Tenney, 1129 Euclid Ave., Berkeley 8, California.

SPRING CATALOGUE available. Drawings and sculpture: Bellows, Burchfield, Klee, Matisse, Manzu, Rodin. James Goodman Gallery, The Park Lane, Buffalo, New York.

ADVENTURE AT YOUR FINGERTIPS—Fishing in Fiji. Sailing on The Sahara, Beachcombing in Bali. Unusual vacation ideas for the individualist. Venturesome Vacations. P.O. Box 735, Miami, Florida.

MASTER DRAWINGS. Superb replicas, superbly matted. $10 each. Free brochure. Bernice Grenert, 550 Fifth Avenue, NYC 36.

HEARTHSTONE VACATION-EXCHANGE SERVICE will arrange between approved persons. For information please write to 911 Midland Sav. Bldg., Denver, Colo. 80202.

TEXAS SOCIETY TO ABOLISH Capital Punishment, Box 8134, Austin, Texas. Individual membership $2. Contributing membership $5, Sustaining membership $10.

"GOLDWATER IN 1864!" Fluorescent bumper stickers 25c or 5/$1.00. Demo-Stix, Box 310-W, 2414 Pierce, Nashville 12, Tennessee.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Maryland.

RETURNED PEACE CORPSMAN (Nigeria), subsequent experience in US secondary school, seeks summer employment in teaching or social work. BA English, Brown. Robert Teller, Box 68, Nesconset, L.I., N.Y.

PERSONALITY THEORIES. Schematic analysis makes them understandable, shows conceptual interrelations, integrates readings in psychological-psychoanalytical reading. $2.00 prepaid, $1.20 for 25 or more. Ralph Segalman, Dept. NR, 249 Viking, El Paso, Texas 79912.

PREP SCHOOL SENIOR, champion swimmer, member tennis team, expert harpist, classical and jazz, wishes summer job. Available early June, camp or hotel, teacher or counselor. Anywhere in East. Please write Eugene, Box 132, Hewlett, N.Y.

FOOT COMFORT—Also extra large sizes. Free all-seasons catalogue. 50 styles double deerskin, sheepskin moccasins, casuals, other slippers, shoes, boots. Cottage Crafts Shop, Rutland 6, Vermont.

YOGURT LOVERS—$ave! One quart milk makes one quart delicious, homemade yogurt! Send $1 for easy, illustrated directions: Yogurt, Dept N3, 67 Wellington Road, East Brunswick, New Jersey.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

SENIOR ECONOMICS MAJOR seeks summer job before grad. school. Good statistics background and some programming IBM 1620. Write Martin J. Qualters, 8 Bigelow Street, Cambridge 38, Mass.

SUBSCRIBE NOW to "Peking Review," weekly in English, airmailed direct from Peking, China. $4.00 with order. Subscriptions processed under US Government License by China Books & Periodicals, 292 Gough Street, San Francisco, California 94102. Free catalogue.

"BARRY G. and WORLD WAR III," four other trenchant automobile stickers, $2.50; ten, $4. Stickers, 801 Security Building, Roswell, New Mexico.

FREE CATALOGUE listing paperbacks, hardbounds, records. Publishers' Clearance. Save up to 84%. New York Book Shops, 4 West 43rd Street, NYC 36.

YOUR HANDWRITING REVEALS character, hidden talents, potentials, flaws, your health, personality. Free details! Psychographology, Box 12-P, Olympia, Washington.

"BURY GOLDWATER IN '64" buttons. $.50/button; 3/$1.00. *Sticker*, P.O. Box 4929, Chicago, Illinois 60680.

FOR ANTIQUARIANS still shooting black and white films, finest quality enlargements 5x7—33c, 8x10—42c, 11x14—95c, 16x20—$2.50. Please add postage. Foto Portrait Co., 1173 Ogden Ave., New York 10452.

FOR RENT: Large, furnished South Jersey seashore apartment. Quiet, cool, inexpensive. Rensch, Franklin Drive, Bridgeton, N.J.

LEXON strikes again! Bumper stickers: HELP GOLDWATER STAMP OUT PEACE or our old standby GOLDWATER '64→HOTWATER '65. 50c for one, $4 for ten to: Lexon, Box 183N, Colvin Sta., Syracuse 5, N. Y.

BEAUTIFUL BLACK AND WHITE 8x10 ENLARGEMENT from any photo, negative or slide—$2.00 postpaid. Satisfaction guaranteed. Erler Cameras, 1540 E. 83rd St., Chicago, Illinois 60619.

BUSY SOLO PRACTICE PEDIATRICIAN with large overhead and large family that he never sees is looking for opportunity to associate with group or individual, or college physician work. Write Box 15, The New Republic, 1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 36, D. C.

BRITISH BOOK BARGAINS—All subjects. Catalogue free. Wants found. Transbooks, Box 44-NR, Matawan, New Jersey.

"CHICAGO AT NIGHT" Four beautiful color slides $1.00 P.P. 25c for catalog and sample slide. Erler Camera, 1540 E. 83rd Street, Chicago, Illinois, 60619.

WAY OUT WEST: A Pre-Convention Report on Goldwater, by Gilbert A. Harrison, eight pages, 25c each, ten copies for $2.00. Reprint Department, The New Republic, 1244 19th Street N.W., Washington 36, D. C.

NEW TEENAGE SUMMER PROGRAM develops greater self-confidence, improved work habits, better use of leisure. Write Shaker Village, P.O. Box 1149N, Pittsfield, Mass.

"WILL FORMS." Two will forms and book on wills. $1.00 complete. National Forms, Box 48313NR, Los Angeles 48, Calif.

NEW REPUBLIC, 25 weeks $3.00; Newsweek, 37 weeks $3.87; U.S. News, 39 weeks $3.87; Esquire, 1 year $4.00; Saturday Review, 48 weeks $3.88; Motorboating, 1 year $3.00 (50% discount). Pollocks Magaine Service, Little Silver, New Jersey.

SUMMER JOB: College girl with three summers work experience, desires camp, companion, or other employment. Age 19, Senior life saving, sailing, other outdoor abilities, fairly fluent in French, able to instruct in ballet. References. Box 250 The New Republic.

MATH AND ENGLISH for high school credit. Specializing in fundamentals. Boys boarding. $650. Near Tanglewood in the Berkshires. Write Alan Winslow, Stockbridge Summer School, West Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

FREE WORLDWIDE search service for books in any language. The Compleat Bookman, Box 148, Northport, Long Island, New York

RIM ROCK SCHOOL—College preparatory, coed. Foreign trip, skiing, Catalogue. Headmaster, Box 4, Steamboat Springs, Colorado.

20 BEAUTIFUL BLACK & WHITE WALLET SIZE prints and 1 5x7 in folder—$3.00 postpaid; made from any slide, negative or photo. Satisfaction guaranteed. Erler Camera, 1540 East 83rd Street, Chicago 19, Illinois.

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $10.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order. Money back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue. Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.

THE HUMANIST relies only upon himself and is concerned with *this* life. He accepts the responsibility of working to perfect the world. Are there reasons why humanists should join the American Humanist Association? Literature available. Dept. NR 1, Humanist House, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

FOR SALE: 3-apartment house. Double lot, adjoining lake and ocean. Owner retiring. Dellas Realtor, Cape May, N.J.

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING." Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder. Fascinating, educational. Details free. Sleep-Learning Research Association, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.

SUMMERLANE SCHOOL AND CAMP. "An American Summerhill." Box 26R, Mileses, New York.

SILENCE THOSE AGGRESSIVE HUCKSTERS! – Minimize commercial brain-washing! Silence commercials with simple device. Illustrated "do-it-yourself" instructions plus safety resistor, 25c; complete kit, including switch, wire and safety resistor, $1.50 The Silencer, P.O. Box 106, Berkeley 1, California.

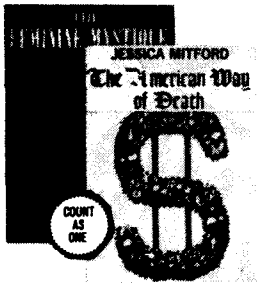
CLASSIFIED RATES

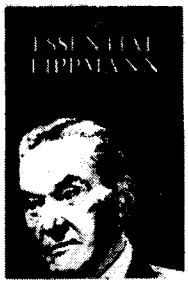
Per word (single insertion).....15c
Per word 6 times in one contract year....14c
Per word 13 times in one contract year....13c
Per word 26 times in one contract year....11c
Per word 48 times in one contract year....10c

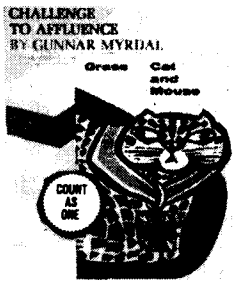
THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19th St. N.W., Wash. 36, D. C.

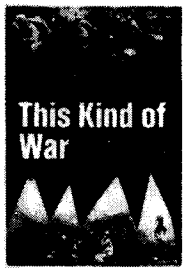
Printed by National Publishing Co.
301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

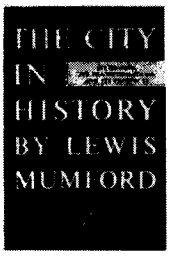
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

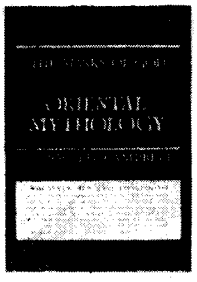


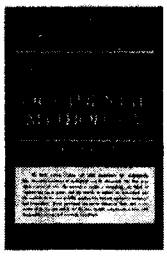


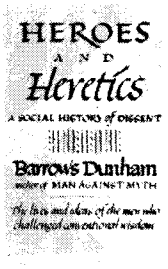


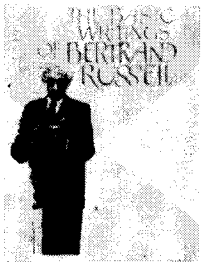


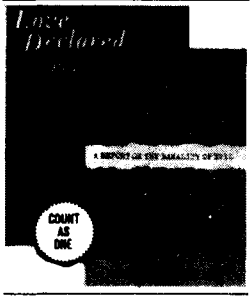


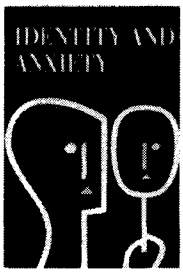


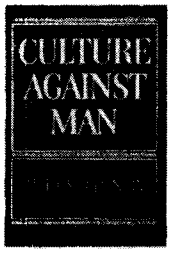




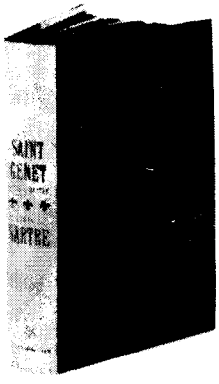


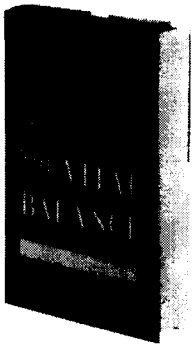


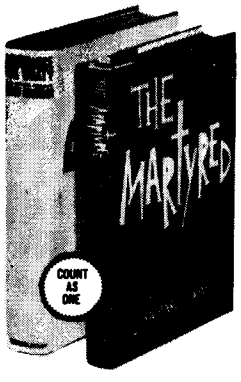




WITH YOUR FIRST SELECTION / RETAIL VALUES TO $43.40







SELECTIONS MAKE THE DIFFERENCE – Here are some of the selections that the Book Find Club has offered its members at substantial savings. The selections of the Book Find Club are different. You will recognize them as works of current interest and lasting value – solid, readable books that range from social science to the fine arts. These are only a few from the outstanding list of more than 100 books and records that the Book Find Club will make available to you as a member if you join now. As an introductory offer, to acquaint you with the benefits of membership, we invite you to choose any three of the selections pictured above **free** with your first selection. Since several are dual selections*, you may acquire as many as **8** books in this way. ■ **CONVENIENCE.** Membership in the Book Find Club makes it possible for you to shop for the books you want in the comfort of your own home – enabling you to build your library conveniently and inexpensively. Each month you will receive The Book Find News, containing an authoritative review of the forthcoming selection and descriptions of the many other books available at special member's prices. You need choose **only** the books you want. ■ **AVERAGE SAVINGS OF 40%.** As a member you will regularly enjoy savings of 40% on the books you take. Furthermore, on certain choices your savings will reach and even exceed 50%. Compare the prices of the books shown here. Your savings on this introductory offer alone can amount to **as much as $37.45** ■ **BONUS BOOKS.** When your introductory agreement has been completed, you will be entitled to a free bonus book of your own choosing after every third selection that you take.

Saint Genet: *Actor and Martyr,* Jean-Paul Sartre. Retail $8.50. Member's price $5.95
The Vital Balance: *The Life Process in Mental Health and Illness.* Karl Menninger. Retail $10.00. ..... Member's price $6.95
***Abundance for What?** David Riesman; *and* **The Martyred,** Richard E. Kim. Combined retail price $11.00 .....Member's price (for both books) $6.50
Heroes and Heretics: *a Social History of Dissent.* Barrows Dunham. Retail $6.95 .....Member's price $5.50
Occidental Mythology: *The Masks of God:* Joseph Campbell. Retail $7.95 .....Member's price $5.50
Oriental Mythology: *The Masks of God,* Joseph Campbell. Retail $7.50 .....Member's price $5.50
***Cat and Mouse,** Günter Grass; *and* **Challenge to Affluence,** Gunnar Myrdal. Combined retail price $7.90. ..... Member's price $5.95
***The American Way of Death,** Jessica Mitford; *and* **The Feminine Mystique,** Betty Friedan. Combined retail price $10.90 ..... Member's price $8.90
This Kind of War, T. R. Fehrenbach. *The Brutal Lesson of Korea.* Retail $10.00. ..... Member's price $6.50
***Eichmann in Jerusalem:** *A Report on the Banality of Evil,* Hannah Arendt; *and* **Love Declared:** *Essays on the Myths of Love,* Denis de Rougemont. Combined retail price $10.00. .....Member's price (for both books) $5.95
The City in History, Lewis Mumford .....Retail $11.50. Member's price $6.95
Memories, Dreams, Reflections, C. G. Jung. ...Retail $7.50. Member's price $5.95
The Essential Walter Lippmann: *A Political Philosophy for Liberal Democracy.* Editors: Clinton Rossiter & James Lare .....Retail $7.50. Member's price $5.50
Culture Against Man, Jules Henry. Retail $7.95. ..... Member's price $5.50
The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell .....Retail $10.00. Member's price $5.95
Identity and Anxiety: *Survival of the Person in Mass Society.* A massive compendium of studies by Mead, May, Orwell, Rosenberg, Richards, Gorer, Howe, Jaspers, Mills, and more. .....Retail $7.50. Member's price $5.50
Privacy: *The Right to Be Let Alone,* Morris L. Ernst and Alan U. Schwartz. Retail $6.00. ..... Member's price $4.50

***TWO BOOKS COUNTING AS ONE SELECTION**

THE BOOK FIND CLUB, Inc.

215 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10003

You may enroll and send me the 3 free books of my choice, with my first selection at the special member's price (plus postage and handling). I agree to buy four additional selections or alternates from the wide range of books that will be made available to me in the coming year at substantial savings. When I do not want the current selection – or prefer to order another book – I may do so on the convenient form provided for this purpose. I may cancel my membership at any time after purchasing the four additional books.

First Selection_____

Free Books 1_____

2_____

3_____

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss .....

Please print full name

Address .....

City ..... **State** ..... **Zip Code** B64-49-1

(Same offer & prices apply in Canada: 105 Bond St., Toronto 2, Ont.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED